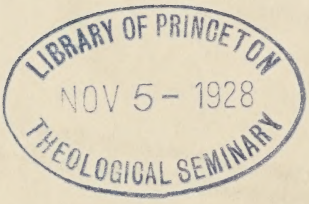

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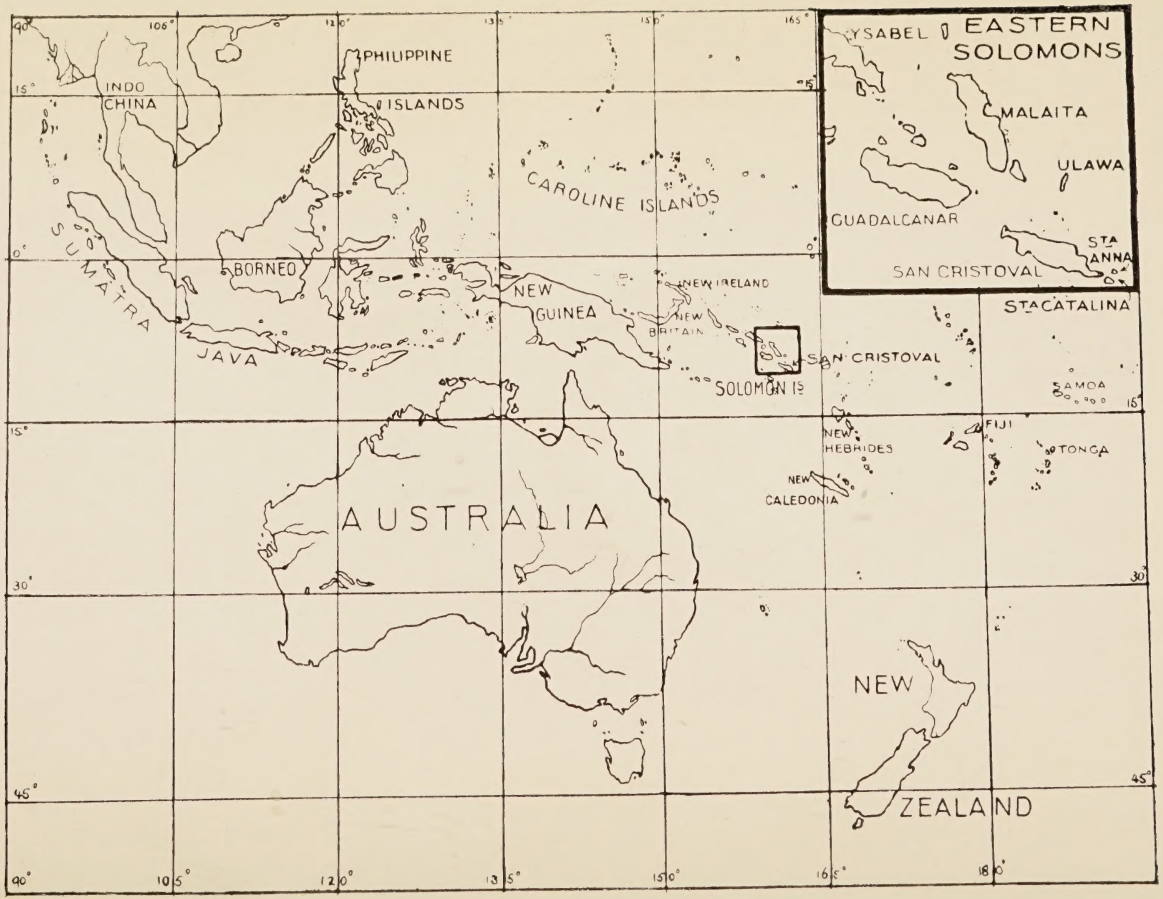

THE WESTERN PACIFIC, SHOWING SAN CRISTOVAL

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The Threshold of the Pacific

An Account of the Social Organization Magic and Religion of the People of San Cristoval in the Solomon Islands

By
C. E. FOX, LITT.D.

With a Preface by
G. ELLIOT SMITH, F.R.S.

WITH 14 PLATES, 39 ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT, AND A MAP

LONDON
KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRUBNER & CO., LTD.
NEW YORK: ALFRED A. KNOPF
1924

Printed in Great Britain by Stephen Austin & Sons, Ltd., Hertford.

PREFACE

EXTENDING out into the Pacific from near the northern coast of New Guinea there is a chain of large islands forming an easy series of stepping stones, dwindling somewhat in size as they are traced through the Solomon Group. Near the end of the series is San Cristoval, which can justly be regarded as the threshold of Oceania, beyond which those who would venture out into the great ocean must indeed be real mariners. For the New Hebrides and Fiji are some distance away in the south-east and the more important islands of Polynesia are even farther to the east.

But apart from the interest of its geographical position, San Cristoval is for the ethnologist an island of peculiar importance : it has preserved until the present day many remarkable survivals of a culture, for the exact parallel of which we have to go as far afield as Egypt, and as far back in time as the Pyramid Age forty-five centuries ago.

In his book *Psychology and Politics* (p. 130), Dr. Rivers claimed that " the resemblance between the mortuary customs of ancient Egypt and modern San Cristoval, so close and extending to so many points of detail, makes it incredible that they should have arisen independently in these two regions. We can be confident that mariners imbued with the culture of Egypt, if they were not themselves Egyptians, reached the Solomon Islands in their search for wealth ". So impressed was Dr. Rivers with this evidence that, when it first came to his knowledge in 1918, he abandoned all his objections to the admission of the debt of civilization to Egypt for its inspiration.

But if San Cristoval occupies so important a place in the esteem of ethnologists as the asylum in which such ancient elements of civilization have been able to survive, it has an equal if not greater claim to fame in the character of the man who has studied its customs and beliefs with such penetrating insight and sympathetic judgment. Dr. Fox has picked his way through the jungle of Melanesian culture with marvellous skill and patient care, and has rescued for science a rich harvest of trustworthy and unsuspected evidence which, it is no exaggeration to claim, sheds a new light on the culture of Oceania and the history of the world's civilization.

I have already referred to the profound impression Fox's work created upon Dr. Rivers in 1918. When in August of that year he received from San Cristoval the letter giving the first account of the burial customs of the chiefly clan and their worship of the sun and the serpent, Dr. Rivers gave up his hospital work and asked me to go to the Lake District with him to devote a week to the undisturbed discussion of the new evidence. From January, 1919, onwards, both Rivers and I received a series of letters from San Cristoval, providing not only masses of new facts, but also details in corroboration of the evidence. Just before his death, Dr. Rivers received the manuscript from which the present book has been prepared. It is difficult to convey an adequate idea of the profound impression the study of Fox's manuscript made upon him. Rivers regarded it—and with ample justification—as one of the most important, if not *the* most important, piece of field-work that has ever been done in social anthropology ; and during the latter years of his life, whenever he happened to suffer from ill-health, his chief anxiety was the risk that the publication of Fox's book might be imperilled if the responsibility were his alone.

In 1918 Rivers had asked me to undertake the duty of his literary executor, mainly for the purpose of getting the results of Fox's work published, if perchance anything should happen to him ; and six months before his death he impressed this upon me as my first duty to him. The issue of this book is the fulfilment of this pious obligation.

In response to my invitation Dr. Fox has given me the following account of his association with Rivers :—

" I first met him in 1908 at Norfolk Island, when I was going on my first visit to Arosi (San Cristoval), where I have since made my home. We were fellow passengers in the *Southern Cross* as far as San Cristoval, and when he found that I was interested in, though ignorant of, ethnology, I became his interpreter with the Melanesians on board, work which Durrad shared when we picked him up and later continued alone. Rivers was full of his genealogical method, so confusing at first, that besides interesting, it amused me, and led me to write some chaffing rhymes, which took his fancy and were kept by him (as I discovered long afterwards) in his study at Cambridge. But you who knew him can imagine what new visions I got. I think what most impressed me was the exact and scientific method of his work. I had had some scientific training, having taken honours in Natural Science at my University, and afterwards looked after

a Museum for a year and reclassified the rocks and shells in it: but I had looked on ethnology as a vague, picturesque, and highly imaginative subject, and not at all as an exact or scientific study. I now became deeply interested in it, and of course more and more drawn to the man himself. He recommended books to me and, by the time we reached San Cristoval, I was committed to ethnological work.

"I met him again at Norfolk Island, as he returned six months later, and he talked over his work. After that a correspondence began, which I came to value more and more, so stimulating and suggestive were his letters. Then you know when I came to England in 1915, I stayed with him in rooms above his own at St. John's College, and had many walks and talks, and rowed with him on the Cam, which above Granchester is so extraordinarily like a Solomon Island river. I was amazed at his interest in my work and appreciation of it, and at the courteous way in which so uncouth a Melanesian savage was received and treated, not only by himself (that I could understand, knowing by then what an uncommon man he was) but by his friends also. Then when I got back the correspondence became fuller and went on uninterrupted till his death. It meant so much to me, suggestive as it was, continually pointing out fresh inquiries and leading me on and stimulating my interest in the work. He never, however, would give the faintest hint as to what he expected it to lead to, simply I believe because he never had theories before facts. You know how he was always examining facts from every point of view, putting everything that could be said for and against any theory. No one has ever so patently impressed me as simply seeking the truth whatever it might be, completely candid in mind. You could never feel he was arguing for a theory, but only that he was trying to find the truth about the thing. Of course, he was to me all those latter years 'the master', to whom one brought difficulties to be explained, and whose opinion was sure to be valuable, and to whom you simply could not show any bad or careless work, who scarcely ever praised, but if he did, it was the one thing worth having. He was the inspirer of whatever was good in the work I did."

I have quoted at length this appreciation to reveal Dr. Fox's estimate of Rivers's work, which was so profoundly influenced, especially during its last phase, by Fox's results. Rivers was virtually Fox's only channel of communication with the ethnological world. Hence it is no matter for surprise that the isolated worker in distant Melanesia was profoundly swayed by Rivers's views, even in some cases where his

own evidence came into conflict with them. In respect of these points of difference, it is unfortunate that Dr. Fox is so far away as to make discussion even by letter virtually impracticable. Hence, I have felt obliged to leave certain of his statements in a form which I feel sure he would have agreed to modify, had discussion been feasible.

Thus, in the chapter on the cultural history of San Cristoval, he argues that the immigrant cultural influences were brought in by four distinct groups of people, (*a*) those who became the Amwea moiety of the Dual Organization ; (*b*) those who became the Atawa moiety of the Dual Organization ; (*c*) the Abarihu, part of whom constitute the Araha ruling group ; and (*d*) the people who practise cremation. He follows Rivers's scheme of cultural history in Melanesia, and expresses the opinion that the ancestors of the Amwea and the Atawa respectively fused to form a dual organization and that the ancestors of the Araha and other similar clans came later and imposed themselves as rulers. Evidence from wider areas than Melanesia, however, shows that the form of society known as the Dual Organization was carried about the world, and to Melanesia itself among other places, by highly civilized peoples, whose ruling classes were culturally similar to the Araha of San Cristoval. In fact, this wider survey suggests that the ancestors of the Amwea, Atawa, and Araha, must have come to San Cristoval at the same time, and not, as Dr. Fox argues, in successive waves. It is not possible, within the scope of this preface, to give the reasons for this interpretation in full ; but they will be apparent to the reader who compares Rivers's *History of Melanesian Society* with his *Social Organization* (edited by Mr. W. J. Perry). Reference is made to these matters to warn the reader that another interpretation of the facts is possible than that adopted by Rivers, and, following him, Dr. Fox, and also to call his attention to important evidence cited by Dr. Fox himself. Thus, the justification of this attitude of caution is provided by a careful study of the facts associated with the cults of snakes among the Atawa and the Araha. The claim is put forward by the people of San Cristoval themselves—witness the old Snake-chief of Haununu, one of Dr. Fox's most valued informants—that Atawa and Araha are the same people. Nor is there any reason to doubt the reliability of this witness, especially as evidence provided by other peoples impresses upon us the same inference as the old Snake-chief categorically states as a fact.

In conclusion, I have to express my deepest gratitude to Mr. Perry for the help and advice he has given me in the difficult task of preparing

this work for the press on behalf of Dr. Fox. As he had just rendered a similar service in the case of Dr. Rivers's *Social Organization*, it will, I am sure, be a satisfaction to Dr. Fox to know that his book has been revised by the friend and collaborator of him who he is proud to call his " master ".

Part I of this book is a revised version of parts of Dr. Fox's memoirs on Social Organization in San Cristoval, and Beliefs and Tales of San Cristoval (the latter, Chapters VI to XII of this book, in collaboration with the late F. H. Drew) published in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, the former in 1919 (Vol. 49), and the latter in 1915 (Vol. 45). In reproducing the stories I have omitted the original Melanesian versions which have been published in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*. In some of the later chapters, some hitherto unpublished examples of the Melanesian language are given in this book. For permission to reprint these extracts I am indebted to the Council of the Institute.

G. Elliot Smith.

University College,
London.

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PART I

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

SAN CRISTOVAL lies at the south-eastern end of the long chain of islands called the Solomon Islands, in the neighbourhood of lat. 11° South, long. 167° East. Physically the people are Melanesians, linguistically they are closely connected in many ways with the people of Mwala (also called Mala, Malaita, or Malanta), Ulawa, Ugi, and south-eastern Guadalcanar (or Marau). Over all this area there may be said to be only one language, with four or five dialects, and a number of sub-dialects differing but little from one another. To the west another language, not very different in grammar, is spoken in Florida, Guadalcanar, and Ysabel, while to the south-east though at a considerable distance, the language of the Banks Islands shows many similarities. In this area of the south-east Solomons there seem to be no exceptional languages, and Lau, Saa, Wango, and Fagani are types of the leading dialects. In physical appearance, too, the people are much alike, and distinct on the whole from the people to the west. In social customs and in the arts of life, as well as in their religious beliefs, the same similarity cannot fail to be observed.

It is possible to divide San Cristoval into several large districts fairly distinct from one another, both in their social organization and in their beliefs and customs, and in this book the following names are used.

1. *Arosi*.—This is the native name for less than a mile of coast line close to Tawatana, on the north coast; it is marked on the Admiralty Chart of the island, but is there made to appear as the name of a considerable district, and as it is a convenient name I have given it a still wider signification, and use it for the whole of the west end of the island, beginning at Wango on the north coast and extending to Makira Harbour on the south coast, including also all the bush villages. The eastern boundary is really the Wango River, which rises close to Makira Harbour and runs north-west and north till it flows out at

Wango. The source of the river is a small lake. This district is distinct from the rest of the island. Throughout it only one language is spoken, and the dialects do not differ much from each other, even in vocabulary. These people are all totemistic, divided into a number of exogamous clans with bird totems, and they all cremate the dead ; though some, it is said, only cremate those taken in war. Burial in the ground, on rocks, in bowls, in canoes, in trees, in the sea, and in several other ways is also found among them, as elsewhere in San Cristoval, but cremation appears to be found in this district only, and with the bird clans marks Arosi off from the rest of the island. Another feature of this district is the stonework, the elaborate stone walls called *ariari* being found only here. This is the district of whose language Bishop Patteson

printed a fairly full and very accurate vocabulary in 1857, which was made the basis of von der Gabelentz' work in dealing with these Melanesian languages. The Bishop called the language Bauro, probably from the native name for the coast at the western extremity, especially from Mwata to Rimahui (the part which the Bishop first visited and from which he got boys for his school), but that name is properly Abauro,[1] and must not be confused with the peninsula called Bauro or Bwauro in the Admiralty Chart, in the middle of the north coast, a name used in this paper for the central district of the island. The use of Bauro for the name of this western language and people probably led the Melanesian Mission to call the whole island by the same name,

[1] Bishop Patteson evidently considered the *a* to be a locative preposition as in the San Cristoval names for Renneli, Bellona, and Ugi (Amoraha, Amokiki, Augi). But here I think the *a* is part of the name.

and the influence of the Mission extended the use, so that the chart calls the whole island " Bauro or San Cristoval ". Mendana visited the west end of Arosi in 1566, and his pilot Gallego calls it Paubro.

2. *Bauro.*—This is the native name for a peninsula in the middle of the north coast, and it is so called on the Admiralty Chart. It is used here for the name of the district from Arosi eastward, and perhaps that ought to include the whole of the island, at any rate up to the long narrow peninsula at the east end. However, as my own knowledge only extends at all completely to the peninsula itself, and thence across to Haununu on the south coast, the name Bauro is used for the district extending eastward from Arosi up to a line drawn roughly from Bauro to Haununu. This district is quite distinct from Arosi. The people of the interior have a dual organization of society, and though on the coast some totemistic clans (but usually not bird clans as in Arosi) are also found, there also the dual organization plainly underlies them. The relationship terms are very interesting, and in some respects different from any known to me in other parts of Melanesia, especially in the fact that not only all the terms, but also all names, have prefixes to distinguish the sex, so that here the term used depends on the sex of the person addressed. The snake worship has its home in this district and the use of large wooden gongs is characteristic. These gongs are not merely used, as in Arosi, to send a few short and well-known messages, but serve as a regular means of conveying information from village to village ; and by an ingenious system of special beats for a large number of words and a liberal use of metaphor (" tree of the sea " representing a ship) almost any message can be sent to a village as much as eight miles distant. Some of the people of the interior are almost nomadic, for though they have villages they seldom live in them for long at a time, and wander over the country, using rough leaf shelters, making gardens in different places and camping near them and nutting from place to place. Their language is distinct from that of Arosi, partly in its grammar, but chiefly in having older and fuller forms of words, and the dialects are numerous and differ a good deal from one another. Where the words are the same as in Arosi, the Bauro form retains the consonants which the Arosi tend to drop.

3. *Kahua.*—The rest of the island is here called by this name, that of the prominent peninsula to the east of the big bay called Wanione Bay on the chart. This name is only used provisionally, but perhaps this region will be found to possess features making it distinct from Bauro, which, generally speaking, it resembles.

4. *Santa Anna.*—This is a small island four miles from the east end of San Cristoval. Perhaps with this should be included Santa Catalina and the narrow peninsula up to Star Harbour on the mainland. These people are very distinct, but all that I know of them was gained in two short visits to Santa Anna. It is a great pity that so little has been learnt, as the people are fast disappearing. They are totemistic people with a few clans, named chiefly from aquatic animals. Their totemism is the most pronounced totemism found in this part at least of Melanesia.[1]

5. *Ugi.*—This is the name of a small island six miles from the mainland, and opposite Wango. It is now practically an Ulawa colony, and Ulawa is generally spoken, though the original language is still known by a few people. Its language, though like that of Ulawa, is allied to the Bauro language in some respects ; and probably the same is true of the social organization, a knowledge of which can hardly now be obtained. The Spaniards called this island San Juan.[2]

Speaking generally, the people at both ends of San Cristoval, where it is narrow (at Wango it is only twelve miles across), and on the outlying small islands and even on the coast of the main mass of the island, are organized into a number of totemistic clans—bird clans to the west, aquatic clans to the east, and both along the coast of the central part. But the people of the large central portion of the island are a dual people, without totemism ; and traces of this dual organization are found even in the districts where the totemistic clans now exist ; so that the former seems to be the older.

[1] Since the above was written Mr. Norman Deak has started Christian schools here, and no doubt learnt much of the people and their language.

[2] The island of Ulawa is discussed in Chapter XXVII.

CHAPTER II

THE AROSI DISTRICT

Arosi Villages

AROSI is not a very large district—about sixty miles of coast line with about thirty villages, and now only a few villages inland, most of the latter very small. It must once have had a large population. If the accounts of the Spaniards are to be trusted, the population was large when they visited it in 1566. In 1846 the Roman Catholic fathers who settled at Makira Harbour describe the population as much larger than it is now, and a good deal later Dr. Guppy speaks of five hundred people in Wango where now there are less than one hundred. In the interior there are numerous sites of old villages, a cluster of coco-nuts perhaps marking the place where a village stood. Behind Heuru from one hilltop I was shown the sites of forty-six once flourishing villages of which now only three remain, and most of these forty-six were inhabited fifty years ago, before the great dysentery epidemic of that time. Every few years dysentery passes through the bush villages, killing scores, or even hundreds, and probably the day is not far distant when there will be no living people in the interior and only a few half-civilized pidgin-English-speaking people on the coast.

The real Arosi village could till lately be seen in the bush, but those on the coast are chiefly villages made by people who have come down to the coast to school. Practically all the coast villages of Arosi have been Christian for some years, and in some ways they show a real difference from the typical and original Arosi village. This western end of the island is largely limestone, though there are high volcanic hills as one goes east, but the interior in the limestone country consists

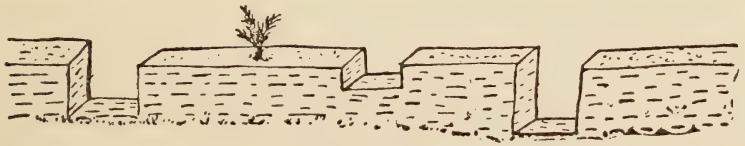
of a high and breezy plateau with very deep and steep intersecting valleys, sometimes almost as steep as a Colorado canyon, so that two villages almost inaccessible by path are within hail of one another. On this plateau are some open spaces covered with bracken fern and rich in bright-coloured wild flowers, and here and there is a series of little knolls on which a village is perched, each knoll carrying on its crest four or five houses in which the members of one of the village clans live together, and one of which is the guest house, over the gable of which is carved the totem bird of the clan. Each cluster of houses is only a stone's throw from the next, and there may be four or five such clusters along the ridge, the whole forming a village. The village itself is probably surrounded by a stockade and may have across the middle an *erihoro*, a deep ditch which in one case at least is some 80 yards long, 30 ft. deep, and too wide to leap across. These huge ditches are also found in Bauro.

The shore village is larger than any sub-group of a bush village, and sometimes as large as the whole village, i.e. about one hundred people, and now, at any rate, there is no grouping into clans. It is often characterized by the possession of an *ariari*, a kind of stone wall.[1] An ordinary stone wall to keep out pigs from a garden or to mark a boundary is called *dua*, and is roughly made, but the *ariari* is quite different and is really a stone platform very carefully built of large even stones, its sides even and its top broad and flat. It may be as much as 12 to 15 ft. broad and 4 or 5 ft. high, and extends partly round the village. It has several entrances, all of which were in former times taboo to women, except one which was the common entrance for everybody in the village. On the broad flat top of the *ariari* the *aihuri*, a tree with yellow leaves, and the *niu bara*, the pale yellow coco-nut, were planted, and sometimes houses were built. The *niu bara* is a more or less sacred tree, in some parts of San Cristoval almost a totem, and in Arosi it is also planted at the *pirupiru*, the sacred place by the shore where sharks are worshipped ; and here too a large circular *ariari* is built round it. Most natives say the *ariari* is only a protection from the surf, but this seems unlikely, for it is too elaborate, with its careful building and numerous entrances which were once taboo to certain people ; moreover, there is the circular *ariari* at the *pirupiru* and also

[1] There are also other stone structures in Arosi ; and large pyramidal and square mounds, on the flat tops of which the dead were buried. Sometimes these were of earth and these will be described fully with the burial customs. (See p. 218.)

an *ariari* at the *hera* (burial ground), some of these latter being found inland, and on these stone platforms sacrifices were offered to the dead.[1]

The Arosi belief is that the present coast population is more recent than that of the bush, and so also the Bauro people think ; and the land along the coast is the property of the people who lived in the bush behind it, and of descendants of these bush people who came down and settled along the coast, and all the shore was peopled in this way. The first people who came to San Cristoval (so runs one Arosi story) came in the time of the great *Ruarua*, a flood of waters from rain and oncoming sea combined, the *Ruarua* that according to some accounts covered the whole of San Cristoval, even the highest hills over 4,000 ft. high ! They came in a large canoe from Mwara (Malaita)—there had been a second and much later immigration from Mwara—but originally from a country far to the north-west, whose name is known and handed



Ariari at Ubuna in Arosi; 3 ft. broad, 5 ft. high at highest part, with openings of different heights, all taboo to women; a sacred tree, the light-coloured coco-nut, growing in the centre.
The wall is overgrown with grass. The stones are not worked stones, and the making of this particular *ariari* is quite recent.

down (I never met anyone who knew the name, though I was always told that others could tell me). From this mysterious land the great canoe came to Mwara and thence to Arosi, a very large canoe, full of men, women, pigs, and dogs, and they paddled inland in the time of the *Ruarua* over what is now Waimarai Coco-nut Plantation, until the canoe touched on the plateau inland, a place still sacred (*maea*). From there they spread over Arosi, and they were the oldest clan, called the Mwara clan. There is another Mwara clan found in that part of Arosi nearest Mwara, but this is a much later, and in fact recent immigration. A great many people must have been drowned in this flood, for at Mwata, a village at the west end, the " men of Mwara " are pointed out, a number of brown rock pillars under the cliff, very regular, about three feet high, standing rank on rank, and these are said to be men

[1] At the present time at least *ariari* are only found at the west end of the north coast, so they may be a more or less recent importation from Malaita ; for one hears of stone buildings there, and Mr. T. Williams told me he had found large stone walls in the interior and also stone buildings. (See p. 281.)

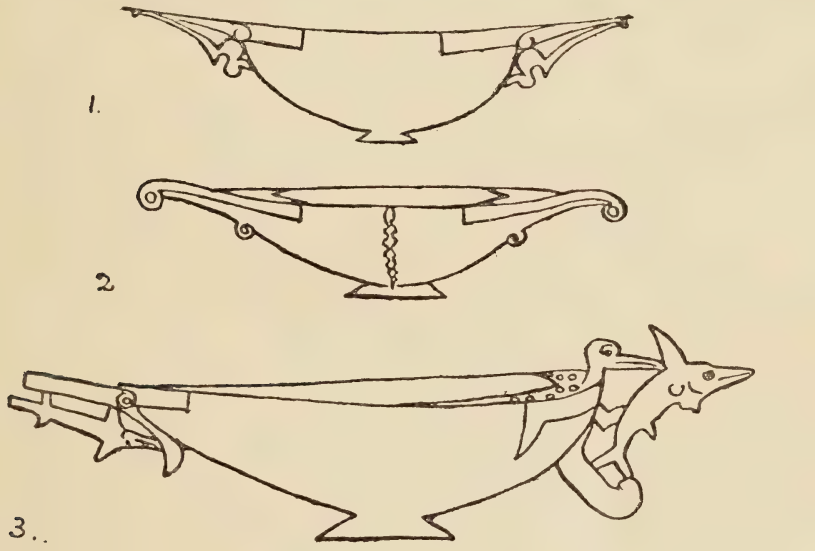
who were drowned at the time of the great flood and cast up on the shore when the canoe brought the first people to Arosi. Arosi itself, and indeed San Cristoval and the neighbouring islands, had been already fished up from the sea by Aomarau (Mauwa in the Ulawa story). There is a point near Anuda in Arosi covered with pale yellow feathery clumps of bamboo, where Ao threw down his rod when he ran to help the *Pwaronga* (fairies) bind up the *Hau i rohu* (Rock of the west ?) which holds up the island, and which had cracked. Ao was at the time fishing up the little islets on the south coast, but in his haste he threw his rod down, and hence the bamboos growing so thickly on the point. I have not heard of Ao or of the flood of waters in other parts of San Cristoval the stories either belong to the bird clan people, or are best preserved in Arosi.

Arosi Totemism

From this short account of Arosi itself I pass on to the social organization of its people. They are divided into exogamous clans with matrilineal descent (except in one or two cases to be referred to presently), and each clan has a totem, which is generally a bird. The clans are not always named after these bird totems, but there is a universal belief that the people of each clan are descended from their totem.[1] The totem bird is treated with great respect, neither killed nor eaten, and was apparently sacrificed to. There are two interrogative pronouns in the Arosi language, one used exclusively for persons and the other for everything else ; a *tei* for persons, *taha* for things ; but if you inquire about a man's clan it is common to use the former, *A tei burunga mu* ? Who is your clan ? and the bird is given—eagle, hawk, kingfisher, etc. ; and *burunga*, one of the words for clan, means also remote ancestor, and is used by Christian natives for Adam and Eve. In several cases too, there are definite stories of the origin of the clans from women or girls who turned into birds, as in the case of the owl clan, whose ancestor was the girl who changed herself into an owl to escape from her mother. As for the taboo on eating or killing the totem bird, it certainly was strictly enforced, though there may be more laxity at the present time. I have not heard of any religious ceremonies connected with the totems, and probably none are observed nowadays ; but there is some evidence that sacrifices were once generally offered in the existence of the *dara manu*, sacred bowls, literally " bird bowls ". These are carved and very highly prized food bowls (see pp. 11, 12) in which sacrifices are even still offered. One of those figured has a snake

[1] See p. 15 for a list of the clans and their totems.

carved in the middle of the bowl, and is the *dara manu* of the snake clan in which sacrifices are offered to the snake, of which only the men belonging to the snake clan can partake. The bowl with a bird holding a fish in its mouth had sacrifices placed in it when the people went fishing, the fishermen eating them. The other has a small bird carved at the end which represents a seagull (*maahe*), and this had sacrifices placed in it when people went to war, those going to fight eating from this bowl. Thus, of those of which drawings are given, only one is a clan bowl, but there were others for clans. The only ones of which I have actual knowledge are the owl clan bowl, which has the figure of an owl carved on it, and a *dara manu* of the Aoba clan, with the carved



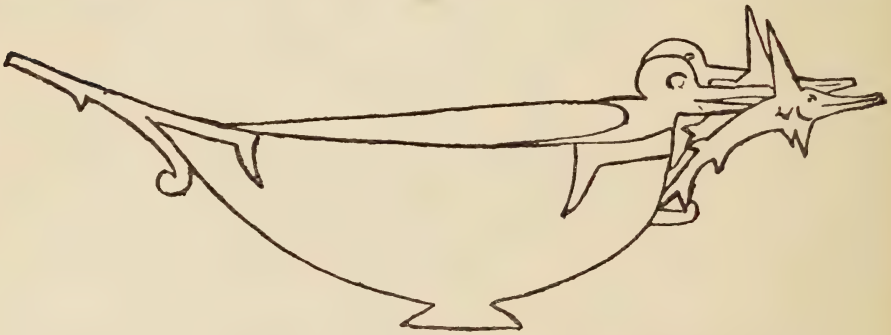
Drawn by Saunitaku.

Dara manu, SACRED BOWLS.

1. *Dara manu* with figure of seagull, to hold sacrifices for warriors.
2. *Dara manu* with figure of snake, to hold sacrifices for the snake clan.
3. *Dara manu* with figure of bird and fish, to hold sacrifices for fishermen.

figure of the *kaopwa* bird, in which bowl sacrifices were offered by the men of the Aoba clan to their totem, the bird called *kaopwa*. Sacrifices are put in the former, which only men of the owl clan can eat, sacrifices presumably to their totem. The name for these sacred bowls seems to connect them with the clans, but the figures of other birds, such as the seagull, make it certain that not all these bowls were originally clan bowls used for sacrifices to the clan totems; but some of them were so, and it is very probable that each clan had its proper clan bowl.

The clans were (and still are) exogamous with matrilineal descent, but it must be remembered that schools and civilization have for many years been breaking down the clan system in Arosi.[1] Natives are now to be found who do not know to what clan they belong. This is partly due to the fact that Christianity has been breaking down the clan system as it regulated marriage, for the earlier missionaries either did not know of the existence of the clans (even Dr. Codrington did not) or perhaps deliberately ignored them and encouraged marriage within the clan ; lately a conference of native teachers decided to forbid a man to marry a woman of the same clan, but this rule was not allowed by the synod of the diocese. Formerly the clans were strictly exogamous, and though marriages within the clan took place, at the least



Bomatana, A *dara manu* FROM FAGANI.

a heavy fine had to be paid by the offender. An exception should perhaps be made of the clan of the chiefs (Araha), as pedigrees show many marriages of Araha men to Araha women. It is chiefly in the coast villages that the clan regulations have become laxer, and it is in these villages that the taboo against killing the totem is more lightly regarded, yet even there it is still respected. A Tawatana man lately told me he certainly would not kill either the totem of his father (eagle) or that of his mother (crab), but especially the latter ; he said that if one of the crab clan were murdered he, with all other crab people along the coast, would feel bound to punish the murderer ; but if an eagle man were killed he would only be " a little angry ". There is certainly respect for the father's totem.

Probably it is true to say there is now very little religious meaning attached to the totems ; and the clan system is purely a social organiza-

[1] But I think influences from Malaita were beginning to do this before the time of schools and civilization.

tion. A member of a clan can always appeal to all the other members of his clan for help and protection and can never be destitute. Wherever he goes in Arosi he will find clansmen who will give him hospitality, and even beyond Arosi, but, curiously enough, not so much in Bauro as in Guadalcanar or Malaita, and especially in Guadalcanar; the clans have different names there, but are identified (by the lines on the palm of the hand) with the Arosi clans. Some Guadalcanar men lately arrived in Arosi, having run away from a plantation in Guadalcanar, eighty miles distant, and were at once received and helped by the people of the Arosi clan corresponding with their own. An Ulawa man going to Gaudalcanar to a village two hundred miles from his home, found people of his own clan (he was told he was Lakuili). A white trader on San Cristoval was told, after his labourers had examined the palms of his hands, that he belonged to a certain clan, and found much advantage from it. A visitor always stays with people of his own clan, and food may always be got from clansmen if they have any themselves. It is true that the Arosi clans are not such a bond of brotherhood as the Bauro moieties, still they have a similar use, and such a system has many advantages over our own; but the real importance of the clans socially lies in their regulation of marriage, since membership of the clan makes a man the relative of all the other members, and all clansmen have definite duties and privileges as regards one another. Property in land is held by the clan. The subject of ownership and inheritance must be left till later, but the following letter lately sent by Aitora of Heuru to the Government Magistrate will show the importance of the clan. Aitora's father, Boo, was an Amaeo man, his mother an Araha woman, and he is the present chief: his father, Bo (Amaeo, but adopted to be chief), was chief before him :—

"X has seized land belonging to us without buying it, I don't wish it to be sold, this piece of land of ours belonged to my father, beginning at Omahaoru going inland to Toromanu and extending from Suuri to Mwanewawa. Maemuriani (who had sold it to X) is not the owner, it is ours of the Amaeo and Araha clans. Maemuriani belongs to the snake (Mwaa) clan, he has no share in Boo's property. The first owner was Gougaria, and the Amaeo clan men then were Pumakekerei, Kereuhu and Koia, others who were Araha clan men were Warorai, Mwaerahairuma, Tororauhi, Waritaimae, those are the two clans who own this piece of land." [1]

[1] This shows Araha and Amaeo holding land in common, and this is found elsewhere.

Membership of the clan is, of course, specially important in the case of marriage, for when a boy or girl wishes to marry, the consent of all the members of their clans living in the village or near it must be obtained. This is not an easy matter; personal prejudices play an important part; one member of the clan, standing out for a higher payment, may stop the marriage; and the practical result at the present time is that marriages take place late, although the young men wish to marry and there are marriageable girls, if only the consent of the elders could be obtained. The members of the clan have very real power in this way and exercise it constantly.

The sense of solidarity possessed by the clan is well shown by the following incident which came under my notice. A member of the Araha clan had a young son whose death was caused in a fortnight by one of those virulent ulcers which occasionally attack the natives. Another member of Araha had committed adultery about a month previously, and this was held to be the cause of the boy's death. Boys are taught that their evil deeds will cause sickness and death in the clan.

In all the clans except two, descent is reckoned from the mother. These two important exceptions are the Mwara and Araha clans. The Mwara clan forms an exception only at the extremity of the island nearest Malaita. It seems that there are two Mwara clans, the original with a kingfisher totem and mother descent, and a much later immigration from Mwara with a hawk totem and father descent, these latter living at Tawatana. Both are called Mwara, but must be distinguished from one another. The other exception is the Araha clan, the clan of the chiefs, in which descent may be reckoned either from father or mother. As all chiefs must, strictly speaking, belong to this clan, it is no doubt wise to make the descent as wide as possible, so as to give a larger choice. All men of this clan are called *mwae raha* or *mwane raha*, literally " great man ", usually translated " chief ", but they are only possible chiefs, not all of them are actual chiefs. All men of other clans are called *mwae taa* or *mwane taa* " people of no importance ". So all women of the Araha clan (possible mothers of chiefs) are called *wagi raha* " highborn women ", and all other women (of other clans) are *wagi taa* (the translation of the *Magnificat* makes St. Mary call herself *wagi taa*, though she was of course *wagi raha*). The choice of chiefs is made much wider by adoption, as a boy may be adopted into the Araha clan or brought into the clan by giving a series of feasts. In fact anyone may become a chief in these ways, though the born

mwae raha have a distinct prestige. Marriage within the Araha clan is shown by pedigrees to be very common, and evidently not in recent times only, but equally so three or four generations ago. Dr. Codrington's derivation of *mwaelaha*, chief, is quite incorrect.[1]

Arosi Clans

In most Arosi villages only two or three clans are represented, but in large ones like Wango there may be as many as ten or twelve; I therefore take Wango itself as an example of the state of things found generally in Arosi, and give the Wango clans with their totems. At the time the names were obtained, there were ten clans, as follows :—

1. Atawa.
2. Amwea.
3. Mwara.
4. Bora.
5. Bwao.
6. Araha.
7. Aoba.
8. Amaeo.
9. Kahuko.
10. Adaro.

1. *Atawa* is often identified with the sixth clan, *Araha*. The meaning of the word is not known to the people, though I shall come back to it when describing the Bauro moieties. The totem at Wango is a small bird called *tahitahi marada*, which may not be killed or eaten by members of the clan. Nowhere in Bauro has Atawa a bird totem (Atawa is one of the two Bauro moieties).

2. *Amwea* is the name of the other Bauro moiety to be referred to later, and it and Adaro are the only clans at Wango which have, as far as one could learn, no totems and no restrictions of any sort.

3. *Mwara*, the name of the first people, who came in the canoe, and of the island called by us Malaita, from which they had immediately come. The kingfisher, *warure*, is the totem of the clan. At the western end of the island the Mwara clan have also the hawk, *tehe*, as their totem, but this is, I believe, really the totem of the second and recent immigration from Mwara, who have patrilineal descent.

4. *Bora*, a clan which has the pigeon, *waibora*, as its totem.

5. *Bwao*, who have as their totem a long-legged swamp bird called *pwao*.

6. *Araha*,[2] a clan that is often identified in this part of Arosi with Atawa, the superior of the two Bauro moieties. Araha means lord or master, and is the clan of the chiefs. The children may be Araha if

[1] *The Melanesians*, p. 51, note.
[2] Also called *Hada*.

either father or mother is Araha, and often both father and mother belong to the clan. Many children are adopted into the clan ; and also, by giving an elaborate series of feasts through several years and expending in this way a great deal of money, a man can initiate his child, so that the child becomes *mwae raha*, i.e. a man of this clan, and thus a child is either (1) born into it through father or mother (2) adopted into it, (3) brought into it by his parents giving a series of feasts. To give a series of such feasts is called *ha'a mwaeraharaha* the child, i.e. " to make him a great man ". Only the members of this clan, all of whom are *mwae raha*, can use certain tattoo marks, the *kaura*, or frigate-bird, and the *bwari*,[1] or tarantula, which does not make a web (one *bwari*, however, makes a web and agitates it violently if disturbed). These tattoo marks are cut and called *usu*, whereas the

1. Kaura

3. Sina

2 Bwari (Kaweb)

ordinary tattoo marks, stars, evening clouds, trees, fish, and so on, are punched and called *rabu*. The *kaura* is marked on the cheek, its conventional sign being given below, while the *bwari* is made on the forehead,[2] the sun *sina* on the shoulder.

This clan has as its totem the eagle, *hada*, and in the western part of Arosi it is called by its totem name, as well as by its other name, *Araha*.

7. *Aoba*.—This clan has for its totem a blue bird with long red legs, called *kaopwa*. There is a clan bowl for sacrifices to *kaopwa*, and a club for ceremonial use, carved like a bird.

[1] *Bwari* may mean " summit " as well as " tarantula ".

[2] The *bwari* as a lozenge merely (◇) is found on the heads of babies, their heads being shaved so as to leave this mark, the portion unshaved from front to back of the head.

Fig. 1. OLD MEN OF HEURU

[face p. 16

8. *Amaeo.*—This clan is unique in Arosi, as it is the only clan which has subdivisions, the two portions of Amaeo being called the Great and Little Amaeo. It has also two totems, a crab called *rihoriho amaeo* and an owl called *ngai*, and it is the latter which is carved on the sacred bowl, or *dara manu* of the clan. Sacrifices seem to have been offered regularly to this bird.

9. *Kahuko.*—This clan has the owl called *kahuko* for its totem. It is sometimes identified with Amaeo.

10. *Adaro.*—This clan has, like Amwea, no totem.[1] The word means a ghost, and is said to have originated with a woman who rose from her grave, or from the child of this woman born in the grave after her burial. It is identified sometimes with Mwara, but perhaps because it is said to have come from Malaita, where it is the name of one of the Saa clans (under the Saa form, *akalo*).

Another name for clan in Arosi is *huo*, *burunga* being used more loosely for clan, or ancestor of the clan, or totem. The clans are also called *kumu* in Arosi and on the Bauro coast. In Guadalcanar *kema* is a clan, in Florida *kema* is clan and *komu* village. In Malaita *komu* sometimes means island, and sometimes clan, as at Saa. The three little tufts of hair sticking up from an Arosi child's head, like three little islands, are called *kumukumu*. These words, perhaps, are all originally from the same root.

All the clans except Amwea and Adaro have, it will be seen, bird totems. Atawa and Amwea, the names of the two Bauro moieties, will be referred to again, but it may be noted that Atawa is identified with Araha (or Hada) in Arosi and with Mwā (snake) in Santa Anna ; while Amwea is often identified in Arosi with the clan found in the west of Arosi called Mwara, whose clan bowl is figured above. This identification is made elsewhere in San Cristoval, and in Bauro (the home and centre of the snake worship) it is sometimes said that the moiety Amwea should not kill a snake, and even that the snake is their totem.

Another clan in Arosi not found at Wango is the Urawa (Ulawa), which has the parrot, *diwi*, as its totem.

The Relationship System in Arosi

The relationship system is simple and typically Melanesian, not unlike that of Mota, which is given by Dr. Codrington in *The Melan-*

[1] But I was told by one native that it was not proper for the people of this clan to eat sacrifices to ghosts : this seems improbable.

esians, except that there are a number of clans instead of two moieties. A child belongs to his mother's clan and necessarily marries a member of some other clan, and then all the members of these two clans are his relatives (though there is no word in common use quite corresponding to the Mota *sogoi*) either by birth or by marriage. But in a general sense so are the members of the other clans with which he is not directly connected. Roughly, the people are classed by the generation in which they stand. Those of the father's generation are classed with the father, unless they are of the mother's clan ; the father's sisters and mother's sisters are classed with the mother. So all the children of a man's own age are classed with his brothers and sisters, unless they are the children of those classed with his mother's brother. This classificatory system seems simple, yet it is hard for an Englishman to think in terms of it : he cannot resist using English words such as father, brother, sister, as equivalents for native words, which they are not, and he has a feeling that the word used for father is only loosely used when it is used for other men of the father's standing.

However, when once mastered, the system is simple enough, and it should be possible to give the native terms for all the people named in a pedigree. Yet for months I found this impossible : the terms used seemed to be often quite different from what I should have expected, and not to be predicted beforehand. It was long before the reasons, or at least the chief reason, for this dawned on me ; not indeed until I had read Dr. Rivers' stimulating and puzzle-dispelling book *The History of Melanesian Society*. But perhaps, in any case, the difficulty might have solved itself, for one could not fail to notice that it was almost always the terms used for the wife's relations which were so unexpected ; the reason, therefore, must lie in the marriage customs ; and further, in collecting pedigrees one came across actual cases of men marrying the wife or widow of the mother's brother or her sister, and of women marrying a generation above them (the father's brother). Then, finally, by direct inquiry about all the married people in a village, I discovered that about half the men and women who were married in Arosi had been married either a generation above or a generation below their own, at any rate in the case of the first wife or husband, and that in some cases a man had married a woman two generations above him, a woman whom he classed with his father's mother when using a native term for their relationship. With this key many puzzles were speedily unlocked, and these marriages were evidently the principal reason for my bewilderment.

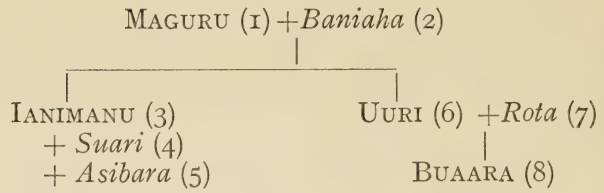
Other reasons, however, also existed, causing complications in the use of terms. Both polygyny and polyandry were common in the heathen villages, but often only one wife or one husband was named by my informants.

Again, a person after marriage stands in a double relationship, that which he held before and that in which his marriage has placed him. Such a person is called *soirua* " two names ", and informants will sometimes give one term and sometimes the other, and sometimes say " my *soirua* ".

Also natives make mistakes, even though they understand the classificatory system so much better than we do, and especially is this the case if there are two persons of the same name in a pedigree. Sometimes a term used that puzzled one in studying a pedigree at leisure was simply a mistake on the part of the informant.

But next to marriages into another generation, the most prolific source of error or of difficulty is the native custom of adoption. Adoption is very common and puts a person into the actual place, as it were, of those born in these relationships : a boy adopted is considered the real son of the man who adopts him, just as much as one born to him by his wife. The woman who cuts the umbilical cord, and who shaves the head of the baby, is the baby's mother henceforth. Children bought become the " real children " of the man who buys them—again a difficult point of view for an Englishman, who insists that these are not " real children " at all ; but when a man is giving a pedigree he makes no distinction between adopted children and those born to him. Yet in using relationship terms he may think of the relationship in which the boy stood before he was bought, and give that, or sometimes that and sometimes the new relationship. Moreover, people are not merely adopted as sons or daughters, but also as fathers, mothers, grandfathers, and grandmothers. A boy may be adopted to take the place of a man's father and keep his memory green ; the father's name is given to him, and he takes *his* standing : he is classed as grandfather to boys of his own age or even older than himself. The unusual marriages, helped perhaps by this system of adoption, have made it now impossible to tell from a person's age in what generation he stands : one classed as your father may be of your own age, a brother may be as old as your father.

An actual example of adoption may perhaps make the difficulties connected with it clearer :



Buaara (8) is a Heuru man, but he was born in the bush near Rumatari, fifty miles to the east, where for some time his name was Horihori, and his father Mwaerahanihaa. He was bought and taken to Ngorangora, twenty-five miles from his home, and lived there for a short time with his new father, Wotagai. He was sold again to a man named Warumu in Ugi, but before he had time to learn the names of his new relations Warumu sold him to Uuri in Heuru. When I first got the pedigree, Buaara told me simply that Uuri was his father and Rota his mother. But this was not the only case of adoption in this short pedigree. Baniaha (2) was only the adopted mother of Uuri, yet she had so taken the place of Uuri's mother that Buaara said Uuri came from the womb of Baniaha. As Baniaha had already a husband called Maguru (1), the said Maguru became Uuri's father. Uuri is considerably older than Baniaha and Maguru. Uuri calls Maguru father-in-law because Baniaha was, before adoption, the mother (in a classificatory sense) of Rota. Buaara calls Maguru either grandfather or brother-in-law, the latter term depending on the fact, as explained to me, that if a man adopts a woman as his mother and a man as his son, these two have the sister-brother relationship towards one another. Buaara calls Baniaha either sister or grandmother, and Ianimanu (3) father, but of the latter's two wives, he calls the first Suari (4) mother, but the second Asibara (5) grandmother. Ianimanu has, no doubt, married a woman he calls *ina* (mother) in marrying Asibara, and therefore Buaara calls her *wae* (grandmother). This short pedigree is given as an example of how adoption and anomalous marriages lead to an apparent confusion in the relationship terms. Buaara, when I first took down this pedigree, did not tell me of the adoptions in it, nor did it occur to him that there was anything unusual to explain.

Arosi Relationship Terms

The relationship terms are as follows :—

1. *Kauwa, wauwa, uwa, uwai.* The first and second are the Wango forms, the third general, and the fourth West Arosi. A male two generations above or below (grandfather, grandson).

2. *Kawae, wae.* The first is the Wango term, the second the general Arosi term. *Kawawae* is used at Makira Harbour. A female two generations above or below (grandmother, granddaughter).

These words are also used for those of previous generations, and for ancestors generally, but the first parent of the clan is called *burunga.*

3. *Hasiwae,* a word meaning usually old woman or very young girl, also used for grandmother and granddaughter, and in East Arosi often used for wife. *Hasi* is a prefix to many words often giving a depreciatory sense.

4. *Asi Kare.* This is really a Bauro term, but is used at Bia for a grandchild of either sex, the " possessive " pronoun being added to *asi* (*asiku kare,* my grandchild). The meaning literally is child- or little-younger-brother (sister). In Makira Harbour *wasi kare* is used for male, and *asi kare* only for female.

5. *Ama,* a male of the same generation as the speaker's father, but not of the speaker's clan (father, uncle).

Gereama " little father " may be used for one not actually the father.

6. *Mau,* a male of the generation above, whom the speaker's mother calls *haho* (brother) ; and of her own clan, and reciprocally a male or female of the generation below, children of a woman the speaker calls *haho* (sister), and who is a woman of his own clan, but not of other clans (uncle, nephew, niece).

There is also, in West Arosi at least, and probably in East Arosi, an extended use of *mau* for the children of the mother's daughter ; reciprocally for the mother's cross-cousin.

7. *Ina,* a female of the generation above (mother, aunt).

Gereina " little mother " may be used for mother's sister, father's sister, etc.

8. *Doora,* one of the same generation as the speaker, and the same sex (brother, sister, cousin).

9. *Haho,* one of the same generation as the speaker, but the opposite sex (brother, sister, cousin).

10. *Asi,* the West Arosi word for *haho,* which latter in West Arosi means cross-cousin of opposite sex, child of one whom the speaker calls *mau* (mother's brother).

11. *Kikii,* the East Arosi term for cross-cousin ; son and daughter of *mau.*

12. *Gare,* one of the generation below of either sex (son, daughter). In parts of West Arosi, the children of the mother's brother are often called *gare.*

13. *Bwauodo*, the actual brother of the speaker's actual mother.

14. *Areha*, in East Arosi (1) the wife of the mother's brother; (2) the husband of the sister's daughter; (3) the wife of the sister's son, i.e. the wife or husband of the *mau*. In West Arosi, the second (much younger) husband of the speaker's mother (aunt, son-in-law, mother-in-law, step-father).

15. *Mwane*, husband (the common word for " man ", " male ").

16. *Urao*, wife (the common word for " woman ", " female ").

In some bush villages the usual Melanesian word for woman, *hehene*, is used, and *urao* means a harlot.

17. *Wai*, husband or wife.[1]

18. *Waiha* or *iha*, a relation by marriage of the same generation and the same sex as the speaker, i.e. wife's brother, husband's sister, sister's husband, brother's wife (brother-in-law, sister-in-law).

19. *Mwarii*, a relation by marriage of the same generation as, but opposite sex to, the speaker (brother-in-law, sister-in-law).

20. *Hungo*, a relation by marriage a generation above or below of either sex (but in West Arosi only of the opposite sex to the speaker) (father-in-law, mother-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law).

21. *Aharo*, in East Arosi a wide term combining *iha* and *mwarii*; in West Arosi a relation by marriage a generation below or above of the same sex as the speaker.

22. *Soirua*, a term used for one who can be called by either of two relationship terms.

23. *Marahu*, a namesake or friend; a person with whom one has exchanged names; a person with whom one has exchanged wives.

Ngautangusi is a term applied to each of the group of four where wives have been exchanged, the explanation given is that in cooking *tangusi* (cabbage) it is stirred round and round. Evidently the custom was not uncommon, though the people now speak of it with a blush.

There are two sets of " possessive pronouns " in Arosi: (1) the personal pronoun following the noun, usually showing close relationship (parts of a whole: arm, leg, seed, leaf, etc.); (2) the pronoun suffixed to a " possessive noun " following the noun.

(1) *gu*, my; *mu*, thy; *na*, his, etc.

(2) *agu*, my; *amu*, thy; *ana*, his, etc.

[1] Cf. Fiji *wati*, sometimes shortened to *wai*.

In the case of the terms given above, some take the first and some the second set of possessives.

1*st set : ama, ina, gare, doora, haho, asi, wai, iha, mwarii, hungo, aharo, areha, marahu.*

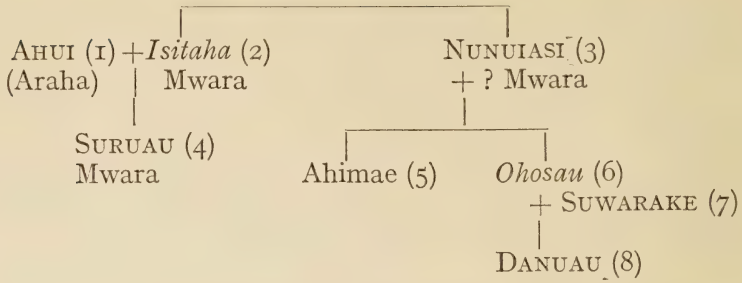
2*nd set : mau, uwai, wae, hasiwae, mwane, urao, kikii.*

Gare takes either ; some say *gare ana* means a bought son ; *aosi ana* (his orphan) is also used for one bought.

The Use of Mau *in Arosi*

At first it seemed to me that a trace of patrilineal ideas was certainly to be found in the extension of the use of *mau* to include members of the father's as well as the mother's clan. A man calls a woman of his own generation his sister, and if she is of his own clan the children are *mau*, but if of another clan *gare* : and this, of course, is regular ; but in West Arosi, if not in East Arosi, a woman of the father's clan is also sometimes called sister in this closer sense, and her children *mau*, while it is only the children of women of other clans whom he calls *gare*. Thus Haamori of Onetere is Amaeo (by his mother), but his father is Araha, and the children of an Araha woman of his own generation living at Heuru are called by him *mau* ;[1] so Monongai of Heuru is Mwara and has *mau* who belong to two clans : Mwara, and Amaeo, his father's clan ; and he has married a *mau* of his father's clan. So it comes about that though men frequently marry their *mau* (niece), and this is now a very common marriage in Arosi, they do not marry within their own clan. The latter is thought to be wrong, and when a man informs you that he has married his *mau*, he is always careful to add, " but of another clan " ; always his father's clan I supposed, but later I found a case in a pedigree of a man marrying a *mau* who was not of his father's or mother's clan. I could not explain it, but still thought this extended use of *mau* seemed to point to the introduction of ideas by a people with patrilineal descent, but that where, as in Arosi, there are many clans, the man still marries out of his own clan. However, the use of *mau* in this way has, I think, another explanation, and comes from treating the *haho*, cross-cousin, as an actual sister, and so calling her children *mau*, and reciprocally the mother's cross-cousin will be *mau*, as shown in the following short pedigree from Tawatana :—

[1] His father being Araha complicates this case.



In this pedigree 4 calls 8 *mau*. The clans were not known, nor the name of Nunuiasi's wife, but evidently Danuau is called *mau* because he is the son of *Ohosau* 6, who is called *haho* (used in Wango for actual sister, but here for cross-cousin of opposite sex). In the dual society this *mau* would be of the same moiety as the father and would be the father's brother ; but in the case of a society including a number of clans this is not necessarily the case. In the first cases I noticed the *mau* was of the father's clan and *mau* therefore stood for father's brother or mother's brother ; and it seemed natural to refer this use to patrilineal ideas ; but this explanation did not cover all the cases, and it is plain, I think, that the use is a result of the cross-cousin avoidance and the treatment of the cross-cousin as actual sister. (This has since been confirmed by further inquiry.) This is not to be confused with the Bauro use of *mau* for the son of the mother's sister's daughter (for there they are still of the same moiety) ; here it is the son of the mother's brother's daughter. The interesting point about the Arosi marriage with *mau* is that where cross-cousin marriage is strictly forbidden, marriage with the daughter of the cross-cousin is common ; and also still occurs with the " mother " of the cross-cousin (as a second wife).

Anomalous Marriages in Arosi

In the Arosi pedigrees the reason for the terms given is often not apparent. When first I began to collect pedigrees I used to let them lie for some months, and then from the pedigree alone try to write down the correct relationship terms. I found that I never got these as my informants had given them to me, and yet I felt sure I had mastered the system of terms and knew their meaning. I then noticed that in far the larger number of cases where my terms did not correspond with those given to me, this was on the side of the man's relations by marriage ; about the same time I noticed some actual cases of

anomalous marriages, such as with the mother's brother's widow or one of his wives or his wife's younger sister and of a man with his "daughter", and I found such marriages were very common; and after reading Dr. Rivers' *History of Melanesian Society*, the cause of my difficulties became apparent. These marriages had not had the effect of altering regularly the terms for relationships, either because they were not common enough or for other reasons; though in one case at least they had done so, just as at Mota, for in West Arosi a man being the future husband of his uncle's wife, called his cousins his "children" quite regularly. But they had the effect of altering the terms used in each individual case, so that even with this key to the understanding of the pedigrees after the terms had been obtained, it would still be impossible to write down the terms for oneself without previous knowledge of the marriages of the persons in the pedigree, whether they had married in their own generation or above or below one or two generations. Obviously no outsider without this knowledge could hope from the pedigree alone to get the terms correctly, but with the pedigree and terms given he could work out with some difficulty what marriages had taken place; and this will be found to be an interesting exercise. I then began the practice of writing down the names of all the married people in a village and inquiring directly in what relationship they stood before marriage.

I give some examples of the result of this analysis. At Heuru, out of 15 married people—

9 have married *asi* (1 *haho*, cross-cousin), i.e. a woman of their own generation.

3 have married *mau* "sister's daughter" (but none of the 3 a *mau* of their own clan).

3 have married *gare* "daughter".

At Bia, out of 13 married people—

7 have married *haho*, i.e. in their own generation.

4 have married *gare* "daughter".

1 has married *mau* "niece".

1 has married *ina* "mother".

At Adoaioo, a bush village, out of 10 married people—

4 had married *asi* (in their own generation).

3 had married *gare* "daughter".

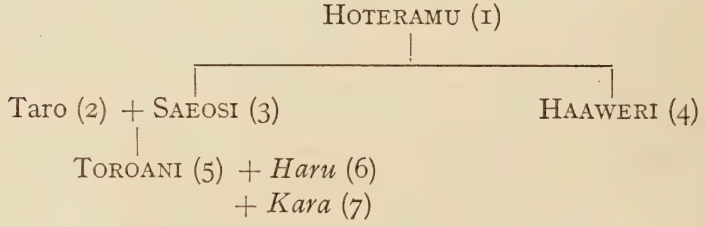
1 had married *ina* "mother".

1 had married *mau* "niece".

1 had married *wae* "grandmother".

These are examples, and fairly typical ones. Generally speaking, about half, but rather more than half, the marriages in Arosi are between people of the same generation. Marriage with *gare* or *mau* is now next common, but marriage with *ina* is fairly common also. Marriage with *wae* (mother's father's sister, a potential wife of the father's father) is not so very uncommon, and I have met with a good number of instances of this marriage at the present day. I have not met with any case of a man marrying his *wae* two generations below (daughter's daughter). Similar marriages in Bauro will be referred to later.[1]

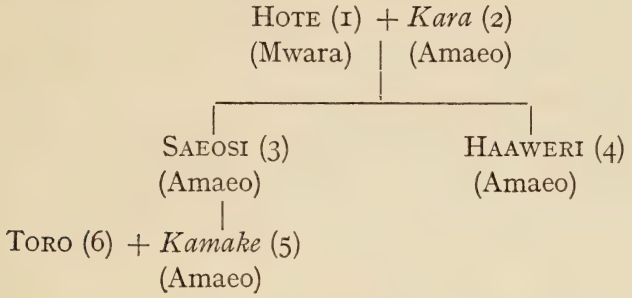
Marriages such as these explain, perhaps, the varying use of the term *areha* in Arosi. It will be remembered that in East Arosi *areña* means (1) the wife of the mother's brother, (2) the wife of the sister's son, (3) the husband of the sister's daughter. But in West Arosi it is used of the stepfather, the mother's second husband. After the father dies the mother marries again a much younger man, about the same age as her son (so I was told), and he is called *areha*. This might be the result of a marriage being common in which a man married his *wae* "grandmother".



The above is an actual pedigree from a small bush village. Toroani (5) calls Hoteramu *aharo* (brother-in-law), no doubt because Toroani's second wife, Kara (7), is also his grandmother, *wae*, Hoteramu's "sister". By his first wife, Haru, Toroani has four children, but none by Kara, who was a comparatively old woman when he married her. Haaweri (4) would call Kara (7) *areha*, because she is the wife of his *mau*; though she is not actually his mother, she is *ina* to him (father's sister). In a similar manner it is possible that his actual *ina* might on his father's death marry a man who has married Haaweri's *mau* (sister's daughter), and who would therefore be of a different clan to Haaweri and his mother; her new husband would before the marriage

[1] A wider analysis would show, I think, more marriages between a man and one he calls *ina*.

have been her grandson, and if his father were the *doora* of Haaweri, but considerably older than he, the second husband might be about the age of the son. This will be clearer with the following imaginary pedigree—



Toro (6) will call Kara (2) *wae*. Toro also, by marrying Kamake (5), will become *areha* to Haaweri (4). If, then, Hote dies and Kara becomes Toro's second wife, Kara's second husband, a much younger man than Hote and perhaps about Haaweri's age, will be still his *areha*. Such marriages may have been commoner in the west of Arosi than in the east, and, even if they ceased, the name *areha* might remain for the second and younger husband of the mother. At least this seems a possible explanation. *Aharo*, which is a general term in East Arosi for a relation by marriage of the same generation of either sex (*aharo* also means a marriage feast), has been specialized in West Arosi to mean a relation by marriage of the same sex a generation higher or lower, the father of the wife or the husband of the daughter. If a man marries a woman he calls *ina*, a woman she calls *gare* (daughter) would before marriage have been his sister, and his daughter's husband will be of his own generation ; if he marries a woman he calls *gare*, a man his wife calls *ama*, father, before marriage will be a man he calls brother, so that it would be natural to use *aharo*, formerly a relation by marriage of his own generation, for his wife's father or his daughter's husband. But this would seem to apply equally to relations by marriage of the opposite sex, for whom *aharo* is not used, but only *hungo*, which in East Arosi means a relation by marriage one generation removed of either sex.

In some parts of West Arosi the children of the mother's brother are called *gare*, being put a generation lower than their true place, probably because marriages with a wife of the mother's brother or his widow were very common ; they are fairly common still, though marriage with the younger sister of the mother's brother's wife is

usual. Marriage with the father's brother is common, not, however, the actual brother of the father.

These anomalous uses of terms seem to be found chiefly in West Arosi. The East Arosi terms are used more simply ; but evidence does not show marriages in a higher or lower generation to have been less common in East Arosi. In all the pedigrees the terms will be found to have, or appear to have, varying meanings, but this is due to the marriages made in each particular case. In the cases noted above the meaning of *areha, aharo* has actually altered, *hungo* has been contracted in meaning, and *gare* enlarged ; *haho* has been specialized and *asi* added in West Arosi.

Avoidance, and Mutual Duties of Relatives in Arosi

Common to all parts of Arosi are restrictions upon the intercourse between actual brother and sister. This is natural as they cannot marry, and free intercourse means possibility of marriage. The restrictions are not nearly so severe as in Bauro ; but in Arosi these restrictions are extended to cross-cousins (who marry in parts of Bauro), though there seems on the surface no reason why they should not marry, as they are not of the same clan. Yet it may be that these restrictions indirectly stop marriage between near relations. It is usual for a woman to marry a man she calls *ama*, and if this *ama* were her actual father's brother, and then later she married her husband's sister's son (apparently these two marriages are frequently made in this order), this would be a marriage between cross-cousins ; but if cross-cousin marriage were impossible, so would be the marriage with the actual brother of the father. At any rate, in Arosi a boy must never speak to his cross-cousin : if he wants something from her he must get a friend to go and ask for it ; he must never play with her ; if they meet by chance on a path she will step aside into the bush to let him go by and they must not look at one another ; he must never take food from her even if he is hungry, nor must he eat food she has cooked ; if she is in a house he does not go in, but stands near the house, and when she observes him she goes out and then he can enter ; he must not go on a voyage with her in a canoe or boat, and he must be very careful never to touch anything of hers—her bag, her lime-box, her sleeping-mat, or to tread upon the last. The meaning of these restrictions is quite plainly seen when it is remembered what the mark of betrothal is in Arosi. If a boy feeds a girl and she eats the food, this is

consent to marry, and if afterwards the girl wishes to marry someone else, half a fathom of white shell money must be paid : in the case of young people it is only half a fathom, with older men and women a whole fathom ; and exchange of bags is a public sign of agreement to marry. So cross-cousin marriage is very carefully and strictly forbidden.

And yet in all the tales of origin the first pair from whom all are descended are always a brother and sister—in Santa Anna, the two children of the turtle who fished up the island ; at Fagani, a brother and sister who appeared mysteriously on the top of the sacred mountain Hotorofa, where there is a stone altar to the Serpent deity.

No doubt there are special functions for different relatives, but I know little of them.

The *mau*, mother's brother, stands in a very close relationship to his sister's children. When he dies they share the property, though some of it goes to his brothers. A boy will marry his uncle's widow or her younger sister. He is expected to work in his uncle's garden and may freely take of his uncle's possessions. If a boy wishes to go to school or to recruit on a plantation, the uncle's permission is asked. If he wishes to marry, he looks to his uncle to make the arrangements for the purchase of the woman he desires for his wife (from £8 to £10 is the price nowadays in Arosi). The uncle takes a part in the series of feasts made for small children, including that at which the name is given, and in the initiation of boys. When the actual brother of the mother dies, his nephew shaves a line across his head from ear to ear. The relation between the two is a free one : there is no constraint, they joke with each other.

A widower (*marugu*) shaves the whole of the back of his head when his wife dies, giving him rather the appearance of a crested cockatoo. Some young fellows at Wango did this lately because their uncles either could not get them wives or were lazy about doing so, and the result was very satisfactory from their point of view.

A widow (*nao*) shaves her head completely for a month, and then allows horizontal bands of hair to grow one at a time till her head is again completely covered. This is also done by a widower. They also fast, *haariri* (widow and widower). The widow eats nothing at all for ten days, and then only coco-nuts for a month, after which the fast is gradually relaxed, but nevertheless lasts twenty years ! or until she marries again. The children merely fast from some particular food for a time. A widow goes about in a crouching attitude, covered by a kind of cowl of plaited *bwana* ; that of a widower is formed by a

number of broad leaves of a plant, *ha'u*, sewn together and held in cowl shape over his head and covering his whole body. Each also wears strung round the neck long strings of small black striped gastropod shells ; if the husband was a *mwae raha*, the widow wears these round her ankle also. A widower does this too, only wearing the shells round his ankles if his wife was a *wagi raha*.[1]

For two or three weeks after the birth of a child the father guards himself carefully from the sun and from the cold wind which comes up nightly from the river valleys, and from the rain. He is careful to do no heavy work, and especially not to carry anything heavy.

When children wish to marry, the first child is at the disposal of the father, the second of the mother, the third of the father, and so on. Their consent must be obtained, but only in the case of the children in which they have this special interest. If the second child is married, the father is not asked for his consent. This applies equally to boys or girls.

Polygyny was common, but though there might be five or six wives, two was the usual number. Polyandry was also fairly common, if it can be called true polyandry ; a man gives money and goes and lives with a married couple. Often, it is said, he has no access to the woman, and lives with them merely to have someone to cook for him and help in the garden work ; but if he wishes to have access to the woman, he may do so on payment, and will have children by her. In some villages there are three or even four men living thus with a woman, but never more ; and all the children born are considered to be the children of the first husband.

Is the physical fact of fatherhood recognized ? At the present day probably it is. If the reason be asked for the custom of burying alive the first-born child, who is called *ahubweu*, or thickhead, the almost universal reply is that this is because the child is not likely to be the man's true child, but born to the woman by some other man. But there are certainly a number of facts on the other side ; and the embryo (*hasiabu*) is said to be put into the womb of women by an *adaro* named Hatuibwari, who lives on a mountain in Marau Sound in Guadalcanar (Marau Sound is where the spirits of the dead go after death), or by Kagauraha, a snake spirit, whom Mr. Drew and I have described (see p. 82).

[1] A picture of " Widows Mourning ", in Newton's *Far New Guinea* (p. 220), might represent Arosi widows.

Apparent Confusion in the Use of Terms

I should like to refer again to the diversity in naming relatives which occurs in Arosi pedigrees. Suppose a pedigree is obtained at some such village as Onetere, the father's sister of the informant is perhaps called *wae* (as happened in the first I got there), and is classed with the grandmother ; [1] no doubt if one went away from Onetere with this one pedigree obtained, one would report that at Onetere a man calls his father's sister *wae*. But in the next pedigree obtained the father's sister is called *ina*. At another village the mother's father is called *uwai* in the first pedigree obtained, and in the next pedigree he is called *iha*. The varying use depends upon what marriages have taken place among the people named in the pedigrees, and as a man may marry his " sister " or his " brother's daughter " or his " father's sister " or his " father's mother ", while a woman may marry her " brother " or her " father's brother " or her " brother's son " or her " son's son ", and any or all of these marriages may have taken place in the particular pedigree, and each will have some effect in altering the terms used, naturally these terms will seem to put some of those named relatively too high or too low. If only one sort of marriage were taking place, and it were taking place uniformly, the terms would be regularly and uniformly affected ; but as this is not the case, the result on the terms used seems at first sight merely confusion, since they have not a fixed meaning and vary from pedigree to pedigree. However, these marriages which seem strange are after all not the normal ones ; in at any rate about half the marriages the man has married in his own generation a " sister " of another clan, and the woman in her own generation a " brother " of another clan, so that the proper value of the terms is easily obtained. Perhaps " generation " is not quite the right word to use, for such marriages as those mentioned, like a fault in geology, have brought different strata on a level, so that children brought up together, and therefore of the same generation, are in terminology of different generations.

If we regard San Cristoval alone, there appear to be two ways in which this appearance of faults in the genealogical strata could be caused. First, they may be due to the actual marriage in the far past of people separated in age and not merely in terminology, old men marrying women really one or two generations below them, or young

[1] Perhaps from his mother having married her father's brother, so that his father's sister is his mother's mother.

men women one or two generations above them. If this were long continued the genealogical strata of different generations might in time come to a level, or approximately to a level as regards age between people separated a generation from each other. This is Dr. Rivers's explanation of such marriages in Melanesia. Secondly, the present state of things might conceivably be due to such a system of adoption as that practised in San Cristoval. It has been explained that adoption of young people is common into the place of the father and uncle. Such a system might lead to the appearance of marriages between people two generations apart, and might lead to the alteration of relative terms, as in fact it does at the present day, a boy adopted to be another boy's grandfather, but who is younger than his grandson, being actually called brother or grandfather.

CHAPTER III

THE BAURO DISTRICT

Bauro Social Divisions

THE Bauro District is much larger than Arosi. The name should strictly be Bwauro, but the form Bauro has been so long in use that I have kept to the latter. (If we are to follow strictly native terms, Ugi should be Uki.) The rivers of Bauro are fairly large, and rise, like the Arosi rivers, close to the south coast (the old core of the island is found there, a core of hard quartzites and other old rocks bounded by a line of volcanic hard rocks which form the steep cliffs of the south coast) ; they then flow first north-west and then north, till they come out on the north coast.[1]

When one turns to Bauro after considering Arosi, one is in a different civilization. At first this is not very apparent, especially on the coast. For example, at Rafurafu there were formerly, as the older people remember, eleven clans, *kumu* : Atawa, Amwea, Uraua, Mwara, Adaro, Aopa, Pagewa, Fari, Kari, Kafiko, Araha. Here, however, all have died out except the first three. This state of things prevails at Fagani, Mwanihuki, Rumatori, on the coast, and in the bush villages, and in fact everywhere where we have been able to make inquiries. Of the Rafurafu clans mentioned, Mwara and Uraua are both found elsewhere in Bauro, but only Uraua is common. Pagewa (shark), Fari (ray), Kari (octopus), are found to the east, and Pagewa is common everywhere, even occurring in some bush villages and at Ulawa. In Bauro peninsula itself there are now four clans, Atawa, Amwea, Uraua, and Araha, but at most villages only the two first. At Fagani the same four are found. On the south coast at Marogu (just over the

[1] Similar relationship terms follow the rivers, rather than the coast, a fact in conformity with the tradition that the Abarihu (see p. 356) followed the river valleys. It may therefore be the case that the central people are the latest comers.

Arosi border) the same four clans are found, and also Mwara, Aopa, Bora, and Ataro. But going east, at Pwepiau, a bush village near the shore, only Atawa and Amwea are found. This is the case also at Parigina. At Haununu Atawa is also called Arata, and besides this Amwea, Uraua, and another clan called Maroa are found. Between there and Santa Anna, Atawa, Amwea, and Maroa are the clans. In the bush villages, however, especially in the centre of the island, I have so far never found any clan except Atawa and Amwea, which are always present, while on the coast the other clans are frequently called divisions of these two. The position is, therefore, that on the Arosi border of Bauro some of the Arosi bird totem clans are found ; in the middle of Bauro, along the coast, some of the Arosi clans and some of the eastern (Santa Anna and Kahua) aquatic totem clans are found (this applies to both coasts) ; at the east border of Bauro only the aquatic totem clans are found. In all cases Atawa and Amwea are present, and in the central main mass of the island in the interior, usually, at least, only these two are present. I believe also that if a census could be taken, five-sixths of the people at least (if not more) would be found to belong to Atawa and Amwea. It is difficult to make others at a distance feel the force of one's sense of a social atmosphere, but I would say emphatically that the social atmosphere of Bauro is that of a dual community. Atawa and Amwea are the only divisions of importance in native estimation ; they are the real basis of society, and Bauro is at least as dual in character as Mota. I doubt whether any clan except these two is at all widespread. Araha is identified with Atawa, or called a subdivision of it, as Uraua and Pagewa are of Amwea. The other clans have only a few people here and there, and their presence, I believe, is more likely to be due to the occasional purchase of wives from a distance, which has always taken place, than to any considerable settlement of totemistic people along the Bauro coasts ; or the totemistic people may have settled along the coast only.

Atawa and Amwea

But there are some good reasons for thinking Atawa and Amwea both different from and older than the totem clans of the two ends of the island.

If the names of the clans are observed it will be seen that they fall into three classes : (1) names of animals and birds, by far the most common ; (2) names of places : Mwara, Ulawa ; (3) names with a definite meaning attached to them : *Araha* " great ", the chiefs' clan :

Adaro "ghost" (these are the only two examples of this third class). This last is a clan that came from Malaita; but Atawa and Amwea are not, so far as is known, the names of any bird or animal or place, nor do the people themselves attach any meaning to the names, though doubtless they have a meaning, so that they stand apart.

These two have no totem, and these two alone.[1] Every other clan has a totem and restrictions connected with it. It is true that in one place in Kahau, Atawa, it was said, could not eat the pale yellow coco-nut, but it is rare to hear of any such restriction. Amwea are sometimes identified with Mwā (snake), and then are forbidden to kill or eat the snake and sacrifice to it, and where Amwea are not identified with Mwā there is occasionally a vague belief that the clan has something to do with the snake, but I think there may be a reason for this, to which I shall return later. Generally speaking, it may fairly be said that these two clans have no totems, and in this, too, they stand alone.

These two clans alone have traditions of hostility to one another. In Bauro many places are pointed out near villages which were the regular meeting places for fights between Atawa and Amwea; there is one such at Haununu between the point and the village of Irafua. There were formerly regular clan fights between these two, and the tradition of hostility between the two moieties is very full and universally held in Bauro, and is based on real or supposed physical and mental differences between the moieties. It is said that Atawa people are "bitter" in character, a somewhat vague expression, and at the same time more gentle than Amwea and cleverer; and they are also more talkative, while Amwea are silent and morose, fierce, and fond of fighting. Atawa are fair and Amwea dark. The marks on the palms of the hands, and the shape and size of the feet, are different. Atawa have three lines on the palm and small feet and hands, while Amwea have four lines and large feet and hands. Atawa are said to be the superiors and to stare boldly (I suppose that means have a confident bearing).[2]

Then there are various regulations and customs relating to the two moieties, all in favour of Atawa. Thus people taken in war are

[1] See p. 46 for a modification of this statement.

[2] But this may be a physical peculiarity. The Pakilaba of New Ireland, who seem to represent the Atawa, are said to have projecting eyebrows.

enslaved, but only if they be Amwea; an Atawa must never be a slave, nor must he ever be bound.[1]

In San Cristoval there are two kinds of buying and selling of human beings, regarded with very different feelings by the people. It is quite usual to buy boys, partly to increase one's power, partly to get a useful helper in one's garden, and partly because, owing to infanticide and other reasons, families are pitifully small and the people would die out if they did not buy children elsewhere (Malaita is a favourite market). Dr. Codrington dryly remarks that these boys "appear to be by traders called slaves, because they are bought; the people themselves call them their children"; and he might have added that they also call them their fathers, grandfathers, and uncles, since they are often bought to replace those relatives. But such buying is favourably viewed in native opinion, and the boy bought is treated in all respects as one of the family: it is simply adoption with a money payment. Nevertheless, there are real slaves, people guilty of serious offences who are sold away to places at a distance, and people captured in war. Such slaves were kindly treated, but could be killed if a human sacrifice were needed in building a new house, launching a new canoe, or at the death of a chief. Now no Atawa could be *enslaved*. This is the difference in status which strikes a native most, and about which all agree. Amwea men and women may be, but Atawa men and women never must be, "bound" or "sold" or beaten or subjected to indignities. When at a feast considerable licence is allowed in the matter of women, this only applies to Amwea women. Marriages take place within the moiety, and are duly punished by death or fine or more usually by selling into slavery, but this is done only in the case of Amwea, for an Atawa who commits such crimes may only be scolded. If it should, indeed, happen that an Atawa is enslaved or ill-treated, or killed, all the Atawa, even from a considerable distance, come to avenge their clansman, but Amwea, though they help their fellow clansmen in their own villages in such cases, do not help those of distant villages.[2]

It is said villages were once divided between the two moieties, as they are now in Santa Anna between the totem clans, with a path between the two portions; Atawa and Amwea kept their gardens

[1] A chief could never become a slave in Hawaii.

[2] Lately at Toroa a man named Wetara struck his wife, and to avenge the insult she hanged herself. Wetara was Amwea and she Atawa, and the Atawa all along the coast took the matter up and threatened to kill Wetara, who finally paid a heavy fine.

separate and planted their coco-nuts in different places. If people are travelling along the narrow tracks which run through the forest it is a traditional saying: "Let the Atawa go first and the Amwea follow them." There is a curious custom among the children; if two or three children are playing, all perhaps Amwea, and an Atawa boy comes up, he ties a creeper round the necks of two of them, saying, as he does so, "*Kumu ni tagai*," "one clan," and they must not remove the creeper till they have paid a fine of a bit of tobacco or a bat's tooth or some small present; and an Amwea boy does the same to Atawa children.[1] I first saw this in Rafurafu, and did not understand it till, at Haununu, a man explained it by saying that people who married within the clan were strangled (or fined), and the children, imitating their elders, like children all over the world, were playing this excellent game. The children will say in sport if they find that most of those present are Amwea, "Come let us kill these Atawa, they are only a few." When they travel by canoe the Atawa should sit apart from the Amwea, just as they walk separately in the paths. And, finally, if an Amwea man adopts an Atawa boy, the boy remains Atawa after his adopted mother, who is of course Atawa; but should an Atawa man adopt a boy who is Atawa he does not therefore become Amwea, but remains Atawa, and is called "his father's younger brother". These numerous traditions of hostility based on difference of character and race, and of superiority on the part of the Atawa over the Amwea, are only found in the case of these two clans, and one fails to hear of anything of the sort among the totem clans; if there are any such traditions among them they are not prominent. In this matter these two stand quite alone.

We must note the fact too, that these two clans are found all over the island, and that this cannot be said of any other clan. The Santa Anna clans do not extend very far west, not even to the western portions of Bauro, nor do the bird clans of Arosi extend east much beyond the borders of Bauro, and the few Bauro clans not found elsewhere, such as the octopus clan, are very limited in range, but Amwea and Atawa are found not only in Santa Anna, but from there throughout the island to Abauro in Arosi, and in Ugi, and even in Ulawa, Amwea and Atawa occur again.[2] They are indeed identified with other clans in certain places. In Arosi, Atawa is identified with the chief-clan, Araha, which is also called Hada, a natural identification when the

[1] This game is also played by Arosi children.

[2] The only clan comparable in its wide range is the Pagewa or Shark Clan.

superiority of Atawa in native opinion is taken into account. Where Araha occurs in Bauro it is reckoned the same as, or a division of, Atawa, but in Santa Anna, Atawa is identified with Mwā, the snake clan. So, too, Amwea is identified with Maroa in Santa Anna, but distinct from Maroa at Napasiwai on the south coast. In Arosi, Amwea is identified with Mwā (the clan identified with Atawa in Bauro), and there is some tendency to do this in Bauro, where there is no Mwā clan, by saying that Amwea should respect snakes, and has some connexion with the snake ; but this and the identification with Mwā may have a natural explanation. In this identification, now with one clan, now with another, Atawa and Amwea stand alone.

Throughout Bauro, too, when totem clans are found, it is very usual to class them as mere branches of Atawa or Amwea. I, myself, adopted into the Amwea clan, have been taught to regard Uraua clan people as a branch of Amwea (they originated with an Amwea woman who was carried to Ulawa in a flood). They are often called Amwea, but when it is desired to be particular are called Uraua, as it were a family within the clan. If people are not a branch of Atawa or Amwea, then they are considered foreigners like the few Pagewa (shark) people.[1] In treating other clans in this way, Atawa and Amwea stand alone.

These facts show that these two, Atawa and Amwea, are viewed as different from the numerous other clans of San Cristoval. No clans have such a body of tradition of mutual hostility and of opposition in character and physical appearance, and in status in society ; in fact no other clans have any such traditions ; these alone have no totemistic character, and their very names are different in character and somewhat mysterious. Their distribution all over the island, and their identification with different clans at different places, seem to point them out as the original and older people ; and it should be noted that the totem clans are at the narrow ends and along the coast, but Atawa and Amwea hold the central portion. An argument of at least equal weight is derived from the comparison of the languages of the different portions of the island ; it is not possible to consider it fully here, though I give one or two illustrations. Generally speaking, it may be said that the language of Bauro appears to be an older form of Austronesian language than that of Arosi, both in its vocabulary and in its grammar. It bears somewhat the same relation to Arosi that Melanesian languages in general bear to Polynesian : it retains older and fuller

[1] Pagewa also is called a branch of Amwea.

forms of Austronesian words, while in Arosi the forms are simplified and have often lost the consonants. But the difference of language make too wide and large a subject to embark on here, and the illustrations of the argument from language I would give are of another kind.

(1) *The Gong Talk.*—The large wooden gongs are characteristic of Bauro, and particularly of the bush villages in Bauro. It is only in Bauro that there is a full code of speech by gong, and there are several score of gong words. It is said that each is marked by its own beat, and there are a great many gong tunes with rhyming couplets connected with them which mean nothing in particular. But in Arosi only a few sentences are known, and I have only heard two beaten out: "Come here" and "Bring puddings"; but there are a few more (probably less than a dozen in all), and when a person dies it is said his clan was given by the gong, though this, I think, is doubtful. The interesting point about these few sentences is that they are not in the language of Arosi, but in that of Bauro; not exactly that of the present Bauro, but very closely allied to it. For example, "Come here" is, in gong talk (and only in gong talk), *Ragu mai*, the Bauro for which is *Rago mai*, but the Arosi is *Boi*; "Bring the puddings" is, in gong talk, *Toraia pwai susugu*, which in Bauro is *Torea pwei susugu*, but in ordinary Arosi *Waia i susu'u*. When I first heard these messages, I said to the people, "Why, you are talking Bauro!" which the Arosi bushmen with whom I was staying, whose village was thirty miles from any Bauro-speaking people, would not admit; but I reflected afterwards that probably it was not indeed Bauro, but the former language of Arosi before the bird clan people came, the language of the people from whom they got the gongs, a little gong talk carefully treasured exactly as they got it.

(2) Kuku *Talk.*—To *kū-kū* [1] is to shout across the valleys from village to village, and there are several recognized *kūkū*, as when a child is born or a man dies. In the last case the *kūkū* is as follows: *Karena inuni aru taahi mae*; this is not Arosi, and the meaning of *taahi* is unknown, yet the sentence is Bauro, except that *taahi* is not understood there; of the rest of the sentence the Bauro equivalent is *Karena inuni aru . . . mae*, while the Arosi is *Garena i sae rau . . . mae*, the meaning being "A son of man, they . . . die." It is, I

[1] Rev. W. Ivens says this word in Ulawa is the Australian word "cooee" in native dress. In San Cristoval it certainly has nothing to do with the Australian word.

suppose, the language of the former people of Arosi, and not merely an old form of the Arosi language, though it may be that.

(3) *Language of the* Kakamora.—In another chapter (see pp. 138, 354), the little people or fairies, called *Kakamora*, are described, and reasons are given for thinking the accounts of them were descriptions of an aboriginal race, probably the aboriginal race of San Cristoval. In Bauro, where their talk is preserved, it is described as being in the ordinary language,[1] but in Arosi, when their actual words are given, they are Bauro words, or the former language (as I suppose) of Arosi, for it is slightly different from modern Bauro ; e.g., the fairy of the Wango tale says : *" Kakare wa ! Kakone mwa tage, wauramoru ! "* which Mr. Drew and I translate, " Be careful, look only, brothers ! " but which might be more literally translated : " Boys ! Just look up there, your brothers ! " The Arosi equivalent of this is *" Ro mwane ! ome moi araa, doora moui ! "* Nor is the fairy's talk a mere imitation of the talk of the nearest village of Bauro, Fagani (this was a Wango tale), for a Fagani man would say : *" Kakae wa ! Kokone mwa tage wasimoru ! "* I suggest that the present Arosi people adopted the fairies (called *pwaronga*) when they settled in Arosi, and so these fairies still talk the old language of the place.

(4) *Language of Charms and Children's Games.*—Some of these are in Arosi, but some appear to be in a language very like Bauro. Of course it is possible that this is only an archaic form of Arosi, which happens to be like modern Bauro, but it seems more natural to explain the likeness to Bauro by supposing that the charms and games were learnt from a people similar to the Bauro people, among whom the bird clan people settled; such things as charms and game songs are carefully learnt in their original form. Many are quite like modern Arosi, but many again are in a language like modern Bauro, the same language as that of charms and songs of Bauro at the present time. A few charms and songs are perhaps archaic Arosi ; they are neither modern Arosi nor Bauro, and are unintelligible to modern natives. They may be non-Melanesian.

(5) *Relationship Terms.*—In Wango of Arosi, *kauwa* and *wauwa* are both used for grandfather. The proper Arosi term seems to be *uwai* ; Wango seems to have adopted the Bauro terms with their masculine and feminine prefixes, and is actually using a word with a

[1] Though some say their language was an utterly foreign language, not like any now known in San Cristoval.

feminine prefix to mean grandfather. The word for grandmother seems to show a similar use ; the true Arosi term seems to be *wae*, but at Wango *kawae* is used, i.e. the Arosi word with the Bauro feminine prefix, and at Makira *kawawae*, which seems to be the Bauro *kauwa* added to the Arosi *wae*. (The Arosi *wae* is found on the south coast of Bauro for grandmother, where *kawae* is grandmother and *kawae-kini*, wife.) *Asi kare* and *wasi kare*, found at Bia for grandchild, are Bauro terms which must either have been adopted from Bauro or from people similar to the Bauro people who formerly lived at Bia. But the most interesting term, perhaps, is *waiha*. It is impossible to doubt that the *wa* of this word is the Bauro masculine prefix ; in Bauro *waiha* is a brother-in-law, and *kaiha* a sister-in-law. Yet in Arosi we find this word used for *female* relations by marriage if the speaker is a woman. Such a mode of naming, depending on the sex of the speaker, is unknown in Bauro ; apparently the term *waiha* has been adopted from Bauro people, or similar people once in Arosi, and then used in the Arosi manner, so that a masculine term has come to be used for women. It seems a natural explanation that an older terminology existed in Arosi like that of Bauro, but the bird clan people brought their own, adopting a few Bauro terms, but not recognizing the force of the masculine and feminine prefixes, which were strange to them. These, of course, do not constitute the main argument from language, but are merely a number of instances of the use in Arosi of Bauro words or words of a language similar to Bauro, in the drum talk, the *kuku*, the language the fairies are supposed to use, the language of some charms and children's games, and some relationship terms ; and such instances seem to receive a natural explanation if we suppose these things to be the survivals of what the bird clan people found when they came to Arosi ; they are just such things as would survive ; nor are they likely to be borrowings, for then we should expect to find similar Arosi borrowings in Bauro.

Taking all these facts together, it seems a reasonable hypothesis that Atawa and Amwea, a dual system, is the original organization not only of Bauro, but indeed of all San Cristoval : older than the totem clans and not totemistic. The totem clan people have over-run the narrow west end (leaving only traces of the talk and customs of the former people), the narrow east end, and the outlying islets, and by purchase of wives or settlement some of their clans have spread to the central parts, especially along the coasts, without really affecting the social organization there. I believe the coast totem people of the centre,

whose totemism is not pure totemism, were earlier than the bird totem people, and are probably the "Kava people" of Dr. Rivers's book. They were rather people with totemistic ideas than people with true totemism. (See Chapter XXVIII).

It is an interesting fact that the people of the two ends have always been more friendly with one another than with the people of the centre. Santa Anna canoes visited Wango and Arosi as friends, but were dreaded as enemies along the Bauro coast. The Santa Anna people (like the bird clan people) have traditions handed down, and one of these is that a Santa Anna chief named Karani went to Wango many generations ago (perhaps about two hundred years ago) and exchanged names with the Wango chief Mato, so that he became "Mato", and is so remembered. Such a thing could hardly have happened between men of Santa Anna and Bauro, where, even to this day, if a Santa Anna canoe is seen, the people all take to the bush. The separation between Arosi and Bauro is very marked, but Arosi and Santa Anna are traditional friends.

To assign meanings to the words *Atawa* and *Amwea* may be little more than guessing, but at least a possible, I think even a probable, meaning of *Atawa* is the people of the sea, or foreigners. *Matawa* means the open sea or the horizon, the sea far from land. *Maitawa* means harbour, and the Ulawa form *mā ni tawa* shows the meaning to be "eye of the *tawa*" or sea.[1] *Ha'atawa* (*ha'a* is the causative prefix) means "to point out to a person that he is a stranger, and not a native of the place." The *Atawa* might well be the sea people, i.e. foreigners (just as Englishmen are now called *haka*, foreigners, from *haka*, a ship).[2] This explanation of the word seems probable enough, but it is more difficult to assign a meaning to *Amwea*, and it is only very doubtfully indeed that I suggest *Mwea* may be connected with *Mwā* or *Mwaa*, snake; the Amwea then meaning the snake people. It is often said that Amwea have something to do with snakes, and snake worship appears to be the original cult of Bauro, and may even date to a time when the Atawa had not reached San Cristoval; if so, the aboriginals would call them the foreigners, and they might

[1] *Tawa*, originally opening, may have come to mean sea; as the Malay *laut* (sea) is found in Mota as *lau* (seashore), and in San Cristoval as *rau* (edge or shore).

[2] *Matawa* is used of foreign or introduced things—introduced in past times, as *haka* is of things introduced lately: *Aro matawa*, not a true taro of the place; *Aro ni haka*, a lately introduced variety of taro. Cf. *adaro ni matawa* (spirits) *adaro* distinguished from *hi'ona*.

call the aboriginals the snake people. For it is hard to doubt that these are two peoples in face of their definite traditions. I suppose that the aboriginals were the Amwea, then came the Atawa people from over the sea, speaking an archaic form of Austronesian, the first introduction, perhaps, of an Austronesian tongue into San Cristoval.

In many ways the invading Austronesian Atawa were superior to the aboriginal Amwea, cleverer and sharper or keener (so we may explain " bitter ") and less given to fighting ; fairer than the fierce, dark, and more morose and silent people whom they found in possession. But they were fewer, and therefore needed to rally to one another's help if they were anywhere attacked by the Amwea ; and they were able to do so from their greater unity, because they spoke one language, whereas the aboriginals (Papuans ?) spoke many, very distinct from each other. The Atawa, being few in number, would be glad to adopt boys as Atawa, but they would not allow any of these adopted boys to become Amwea, so they were either Atawa after the mother, or again Atawa as the younger brother of the father. Probably at first they lived apart, one portion of the village being set aside for them.[1] They would find it very necessary to keep up their prestige, and never allow any Atawa to be enslaved or beaten, or treated shamefully ; their greater unity and superior knowledge would enable them to hold their own though they were in the minority ; and their language might become generally adopted, as their coming, leading to greater unity, made the need felt of a common language. On journeys they would naturally travel separately. (See Chapter XXVIII).

Anyone who knows the Solomon Islands at the present day will see that this is in many respects a sketch of the relation that exists between the English, the *Haka* (ship-men) as the native calls them, and the Melanesians (Blacks), as the English call the natives ; the *Haka* clever, fairer, sharper, the Melanesian duller, darker, slower ; the *Haka* few but united, the Melanesians in far larger numbers, but divided, each village hostile to its neighbours ; the *Haka* with one language, the Melanesian with many ; the *Haka* living apart, eating, sitting, walking apart from the Melanesian ; but hardly a growing unity, though there is a growing use of the *Haka* language. It would seem to need the *Haka* in greater number, and with closer affinity in social customs to the natives, to supply an exact parallel ; but other-

[1] The living apart of the totem clans may have been a copying of what they found among the dual people when they first arrived.

wise the present conditions would only be history repeating itself. If my supposition is the truth, it was, in San Cristoval, a moiety of the dual people who brought there the Austronesian language now spoken, and the bird clan people came much later with a later form of Austronesian speech. The totem clan people would correspond with those whom, in Melanesia generally, Dr. Rivers calls the Kava people,[1] not I think, with his Betel people, while the Atawa would belong to those whom he calls the Proto-Polynesians. If the Atawa spoke an Austronesian tongue, may not the Amwea have done so also ? The language question is too large to go into here, but it may be said shortly that the languages of Bauro, truly Austronesian as they are in character, have some elements both of grammar and vocabulary which seem to be non-Austronesian, and that they are of a more archaic type of Austronesian language. It might be expected that the Amwea language may still exist somewhere in the interior, but this seems a vain expectation, as no trace of any non-Melanesian language (such as that of Savo) has yet been found. However, on a small island on the south coast, a spot which would be the last to be reached by people coming from the north-east or north-west, there is, or rather not long ago was, to be found a language which is very different from the Austronesian languages generally of San Cristoval. This island is called on the chart Marau, but *marau* merely means island, and the real name is Marau wawa. There is now no one living on it, the last people having disappeared some twenty years ago or more, in consequence of raids from the mainland, raids which seem to have been the climax to a long period of inveterate hostility. There is only one man still living of the original people, and he is an oldish man, and not likely to live long ; when he dies all knowledge of the former language of Marau wawa will perish. I was able, however, to get something of it from him on a short visit. The language is quite unintelligible to the people of the neighbouring coast and has a peculiar singsong intonation. According to tradition it was taught to the children of the place by a pigeon. Two facts stand out after an examination of the little I got from him : first, many or most of the words seem to be merely Bauro or Arosi words transposed or carelessly pronounced. On the whole the transposition is so regular that I began to suspect the whole language was an invention of some native genius, but anyone who knows Melanesians would

[1] The practice of making a drink from kava root was once practised and is found among some of the old men of Arosi ; but betel chewing is general in both Arosi and Bauro.

agree that this is leaning towards the miraculous. Secondly, there was an element utterly strange and quite unlike anything in Arosi or Bauro languages. To illustrate the first point, a few words are given and their Bauro equivalents :—

English.	Marau wawa.	Bauro.
come in	*mirisai*	*siri mai*
pudding	*mauta*	*tauma*
hungry	*rioho*	*hioro*
yam	*fauni*	*na ufi*
tree	*eipwi*	*pweigei*
come here	*manofai*	*fano mai*
quick	*tamamau*	*mamatau*
taro	*raano*	*na aro*
water	*wanai*	*na wai*

But there is a strange element, or one which seems so :

English.	Marau wawa.
go	*karomo* (*ma rago* ?)
no	*rinai*
house	*manura* (*na ruma* ?)
man	*seminona*
Pronouns—	
I	*neimau*
thou	*nawirina*
he	*aimo*
we	*kairomu*
you	*mwaou*
they	*raono*

In the pronouns there seems to be no distinction between inclusive and exclusive in the first person plural. There is no article, and where words have been inverted the article has been considered as part of the word. I took down a tale in the language, which, with further information, must be dealt with elsewhere ; but this language must be either (1) an invention by a native some generations ago, a language made by metathesis of words of Arosi and Bauro and the addition of pure inventions—a strange hypothesis ! or (2) it contains a non-Austronesian element, with Austronesian words wrongly pronounced, and uniformly so ! In this latter case it may be we have a trace of the original Amwea tongue.

If the whole thing is an invention by a native, that is at least as interesting, indeed perhaps more so, for in that case we have a population of two hundred people on a small island speaking a language quite unintelligible to their neighbours, a language which has been invented by someone in a previous generation by using sometimes Bauro, sometimes Arosi, words and transposing them in a rough and ready fashion, and then (to add yet another touch of mystery) either drawing on his imagination or on some now lost stock of words to get a new set of pronouns and some peculiar words for his new language !

Note on Atawa and Amwea

The statement that these clans are not totem clans is perhaps too strong. Atawa are often forbidden to drink the pale coco-nut. In the tale recorded by Mr. Drew and myself, when the serpent ancestor was killed a coco-nut sprang up, and the serpent's daughter gave a nut to her child, saying, " this is your grandmother," and to her husband, saying, " this is my mother's blood." This is a Banks Island story, but parallel to the San Cristoval one, and in San Cristoval the first drinking nut is sacred to the serpent spirit. Again, Atawa were said to be descended from a woman saved by a *kafika* tree (Eugenia), and Amwea are often vaguely connected with snakes. Yet the totemism is vague, and, if it be totemism, it is *serpent and tree* totemism, and quite unlike any other totemism in San Cristoval.

The Bauro Relationship Terms

The Bauro relationship system is, like that of Arosi, a classificatory system. Each term includes a number of people, and everyone has his proper relationship term relatively to the rest. A stranger can be adopted, and then takes his place in this system and comes into definite relationship with everyone, and each relationship carries with it certain duties and privileges, so that adoption gives a settled place in the social system. Such a system has a good practical side : there can be no poor, there is a certain community of goods, and everyone has definite and acknowledged claims on other members of the community ; there are, indeed, words for the widow and orphan, but no widow or orphan can be destitute, for they, in common with the rest, have many brothers, sisters, fathers, and mothers with whom they can live without any humiliating sense of accepting " charity ". The solidarity of the Bauro community, based on a dual system of two

moieties, is greater than that of Arosi with its many clans, and the duties of relatives are more numerous. The social atmosphere is quite different, and the relative terms very different indeed. And Bauro is much less homogeneous : very considerable variety is found in the use of terms. But possibly the south coast should be considered separately.

The following are the relationship terms used in Bauro, whether it be a man or woman speaking, for, owing to the use of masculine and feminine prefixes, the sex of the speaker is immaterial, a marked difference from Arosi. The terms vary from village to village in some particulars.

Terms applied to Males (prefix *wa*)

(1) *Wama*, father, father's brother, etc. *Wama* is sometimes used for great-grandfather. In direct address this is *mama*.

(2) *Waupu*,[1] mother's brother, etc. Its use for the husband of the wife's sister depends on a particular form of marriage—with the sister of the mother's brother's wife.

(3) *Wamau* = *waupu* ; the term *waupu* is used only in the actual Bauro, and *wamau* is more widely used at Fagani, Rafurafu, and elsewhere. On the south coast both words occur : *waupu* opposite Bauro at Haununu, and *wamau* to the west ; i.e. the use of terms follows the rivers. Often either word is used. Usually the prefix is dropped (but not with *waupu*). In direct address, *Mamāu*.

The son of the actual sister is called *mau*(*aku*) *kare*.

To the east of Bauro *mau* is found, so that *waupu* is confined to the centre of the island.

(4) *Wauwa, Waura, Waoga*.—Apparently all three words are used indifferently, but really, it is said, with slight shades of meaning for two classes.

(1) Elder brother, generally including all cousins.

(2) Grandfather, either father's father or mother's father.

In Bauro itself it is said that *waura* really gives no sense of " elder " and might be used of someone younger than oneself. It is, in fact, used by the wife of an elder brother to her husband's younger brother, younger than herself perhaps, but with a descriptive word *inoni* added. On the other hand, in Kahua, to the east, *wauwa* is said to be used for elder brother only, and *wira* (evidently the Bauro *waura*) for grand-

[1] The son of a man's mother's father's sister is *waupu* or *wamau*, and conversely the son of a man's mother's sister's daughter.

father only, or at least for someone much older. Again, I have been told that *wauwa* is used of a man's own elder brother, and *waoga* and *waura* of someone else's. There seems a tendency in Bauro to prefer *wauwa* for grandfather and *waoga* for elder brother, but on the whole *wauwa* is most generally used for elder brother; though in practice, I believe, they are all used indifferently for the status of either elder brother or grandfather. The vocative form is *Tatai*.

(5) *Wasi*—

(1) Younger brother.
(2) Son's son or daughter's son.

At Fagani it is used for elder or younger brother.

When used for a grandchild it has the descriptive noun *kare*, "child" or "little", added to it. Thus *wasi ku kare* means "my child-younger-brother". In Kahua to the east, however, *wasi* is used without this descriptive word for grandchild.

(6) *Waiha*, wife's brother, sister's husband; at Fagani and on the south coast opposite it is also used for cross-cousin—in neither place can cross-cousins marry. In direct address it is the only term (except the special vocatives) which is used without a suffixed pronoun.

(7) *Waharo*, all male relatives by marriage of the same generation, all kinds of brothers-in-law.

(8) *Wahungo*, all male relatives by marriage a generation higher or lower: wife's father, daughter's husband. At Rafurafu, Dr. Rivers says, it is also used for the father's sister's husband, and this seems likely, but is denied.

(9) *Wanipuna*, used at Haununu only for cross-cousin; but in the interior and at Rafurafu the word is known and occasionally used.

(10) *Wakare*, son, a male of the generation below; often used without the prefix.

(11) *Wareha*, husband of the father's sister.

(12) *Wakerema* "little father", not the actual father but those called *wama* in a classificatory sense.

(13) *Warima*, husband.

(14) *Mwane*, husband; *mwane* means male, and takes no prefix.

(15) *Wai*, husband or wife.

(16) *Wakikii*, used only at Fagani for the son of the mother's brother's daughter.

Owing to the different dialects there are differences in spelling *waima, weme,* at Parigina for *wama* ; *waifa* at Fagani for *waiha,* etc.

Corresponding to these masculine terms are feminine ones, all prefixed by *ka.*

(1) *Kaina,* mother, etc. Also found as *kana, keina, keine. Kaina* may be used for great-grandmother.

In direct address, *tita, teitei, katita, kate'tei.*

(2) *Kaupu,* daughters of a man's sister.

(3) *Kamau,* the same as *kaupu.*

(4) *Kauwa, kaura, kaka,* elder sister, grandmother. *Kaka* apparently corresponds to *waoga* ; *kaoga* is occasionally used.

At Haununu the wife of the mother's brother is called *kaura(ku) inoni.* On the north coast the wife of the elder brother is also called *kaura(ku) inoni* " my elder-sister-*inoni* ", and the reciprocal which she uses to her husband's younger brother is *waura(ku) inoni. Inoni* is evidently a descriptive noun or adjective, like *kare* in *wasi(ku) kare,* grandson ; but its meaning is doubtful. I have been told it means " noble ", and is used of a chief in this sense ; ordinarily the word means man (human being), but in Santa Anna it is used for husband or wife.

(5) *Kasi*—

(1) Younger sister.

(2) Granddaughter, but almost always in Bauro with the descriptive noun *kare* added.

(6) *Kaiha,* husband's sister, brother's wife ; and at Fagani and the south coast opposite it is used for cross-cousins (who cannot marry).

(7) *Kaharo,* female relatives by marriage of the same generation ; wife's sister, brother's wife, husband's sister.

(8) *Kahungo,* relatives by marriage a generation above or below ; wife's mother, son's wife. It is used at Rafurafu for the wife of the mother's brother, and the same use is found at Haununu, on the opposite coast.

(9) *Kanipuna,* cross-cousin, at Haununu.

(10) *Kakare,* daughter.

(11) *Kakarerina* " little mother ", not the actual mother, but other women of the same standing.

(12) *Karima,* wife.

(13) *Hehene,* wife ; *hehene* means female and does not take the feminine prefix.

(14) *Kawae,* on the south coast at Marogu and Tagini, means grandmother (cf. Arosi *wae,* grandmother), but at Haununu *kawae-kini* is the regular word for wife ; *kini* is probably the Malaita word meaning woman or female, which (as *geni, gini, keni, kini*) is common in women's names in San Cristoval.

(15) *Wai,* wife ; *kawai* was used at Fagani.

(16) *Kakii,* only found at Fagani, meaning the daughter of the mother's brother's daughter.

The fact should be made clear that there are slight differences from village to village in the use of terms.

Besides the above terms there is, as in Arosi, a term *soirua,* literally " to name two ", for a person who by marriage or adoption has more than one relationship to the speaker : a man may be both his *wasi* and *waiha,* a woman both *kasi* and *kaura(na) inoni* ; he calls such a person *wasoirua* or *kasoirua,* so that he may use one of three terms when speaking of some relation of his.

The Masculine and Feminine Prefixes

It is important to notice that, owing to the use of these remarkable prefixes to mark the sex of the person named, the sex of the speaker himself has not the same effect on the use of terms as it has in the typical Melanesian system of Arosi. Thus in Arosi *doora* means a person of the same generation and same sex as the speaker, and since Arosi does not distinguish at all between elder and younger as Bauro does, *doora* is represented in Bauro by four different terms, *wasi, kasi, waura,* and *kaura.*

The use of such prefixes is, so far as I know, unique in Melanesia, though there are traces of it in the Banks Islands. The prefixes in Bauro are not only found with relationship terms, they are also used universally with names : the name of every man has *wa* prefixes, and the name of every woman has *ka.*[1] In the case of men these prefixes are often, perhaps usually, dropped, as they occasionally are with the relationship terms ; but with women's names they are almost invariably used.

This use with names has a parallel in the Banks Group. In Mota and Motlav, men's names very often have the prefix *wo,* and in Santa

[1] In names in pedigrees, and in those of many heroes in old tales, the prefixes are found as *wai* and *kai,* a fact to be carefully noted. The Santa Maria *we* may be originally *wai.* In Mota, *we* replaces *wo* in old tales, e.g. origin of *Suqe.* In Guadalcanar similar prefixes occur, at any rate feminine ones.

Maria the prefix *we* is used with men's names, as much perhaps as *wa* is used in Bauro ; the name with *we* is the full form, but the *we* is often dropped in ordinary conversation. The prefix *ro* is found with women's names in Mota and elsewhere in the Banks Group, but it may have a different origin, as have the Raga name prefixes, *tari*, *mol*, etc. ; but the *wo* and *we* of the Banks Group are probably a true parallel and a survival, in another dual region, of this form of nomenclature.

The prefix *wa* also occurs in the indefinite pronoun *wani*, someone, *wani are*, this one, and probably in *wera*, used before numbers when a number of men are referred to : *wera rua*, two people ; *wera oru*, three people, and so on, which is probably for *wa ira*, *ira* being the third personal pronoun plural. It is true *wera* is found in Arosi, and is used of only one person, but, as is shown elsewhere, these prefixes are found in Arosi, terms but used incorrectly, and are, I believe, a legacy from the dual people of Arosi displaced by the bird clan people.

The prefix *wa* is also used with a set of terms, found in Arosi as well as in Bauro, to which I have not hitherto referred, reciprocal collective terms, a related group of people being thus described.

These are formed by adding the reciprocal *hagi*, in Arosi *ha'i*, to the relationship terms, suffixing the third personal pronoun plural [1] and prefixing *wa*.

Thus *wa-hagi-asi-ta*, a group of people who are *asi* (*wasi* or *kasi*) to one another, or two people one of whom is *wasi* to the other.

Wa-hagi-upu-ta, a man and his nephew.

In Arosi, *ha'i-amado ha'i-inada* " the whole family ". In asking a man in what relationship he stands to another, the proper form of question is, in Arosi, *hai-taha-da* ? " you two ? " (*taha* = what).

This reciprocal is interesting, as it shows the existence of two Austronesian reciprocal forms, *hagi* and *hari*, both forms, *ha'i* and *hari* (and also *hai*, *hari*, and *hei*), occurring in Arosi. But as the *g* is the " Melanesian *g* ", a guttural trill which is often replaced by *r*, they may have a common origin. When this reciprocal is used, the prefixes are prefixed to the reciprocal and not to the relationship terms. Similar reciprocals are found in Ulawa and Fiji, but without the prefixes.

[1] This, perhaps, is merely a suffix and not a pronoun. Cf. the Ulawa and Polynesian forms in *na*.

The Bauro Terms Uwa, Asi, *and* Upu

The Bauro terms have been already given, but something more must be said about some of them. The interest of *uwa* is twofold, first that it has equivalents in *ura* and *oga*, and secondly that it is used with two meanings: grandparent and elder brother or sister. It is used for all grandparents, but this may be an extension of its use, and the use would seem to point to a marriage of a man's elder brother with one he calls grandmother, a marriage similar to that now taking place in Arosi. *Uwa* is probably originally simply elder or old ;[1] for it is likely to be the same in origin with the Fiji *tutua*, Eddystone *tuga*, Florida *tuga*, the Banks Islands *tuga* and *tuaga*, and the Malaita *auwa*, all meaning elder brother (the dropping of *t* is characteristic of San Cristoval languages) ; and *oga* is probably only a variant. If so, either when the elder brother took the widow of his father's father or married a woman of her status, the term came to be applied to the men of the father's father's standing, now the brothers of the elder brother, or the elder brother was raised to the status of a grandfather (*uwa*). *Ura* is no doubt the Ulawa *ula*, there either elder or younger (and sometimes similarly used in Bauro). Rev. W. G. Ivens considers this is found farther west in the Florida word *kula*, friend. Considering that this term seems to have rather a general sense, and may be used for younger brother, it is rather curious to find at Toroa in Kahua that *wira* (evidently *ura* with the masculine prefix) is used *only* for grandfather.

The use of *asi kare* for grandson, while *asi* means son, seems explicable by the same form of marriage. It might, indeed, be natural to call the grandson *asi*, for since his elder brother now has the standing of the father's father, he himself may be lifted up to be younger brother of men of that generation, and *kare* may be added to show that he is a child-*asi*, not an *asi* of their own generation and about their own age. But it would also receive a natural explanation in the marriage of a man with one whom he calls granddaughter, his daughter's daughter, and though I have not yet heard of such a marriage in Bauro, i.e. a man marrying with a woman he calls *kasi ku kare*, perhaps it might be better to explain this use of the terms by marriage with a woman two generations below, rather than that of a man with a woman two generations above his own. The use of the term implies marriage with "grandmother" or "granddaughter".

[1] From the Austronesian *tua*, old. Cf. *Matua* in Polynesia.

It is remarkable that no other terms have been affected by such marriages. Of the marriage of a man with one he calls grandmother I have no instance in Bauro ; the most remarkable as I have found several cases of it in Arosi, where the terms for brother and grandfather are distinct.

Upu, the word used for a mother's brother, is perhaps the most interesting relationship term in Melanesia. Dr. Rivers has discussed it very fully.[1] *Wanipuna*[2] is used at Haununu for cross-cousin, and as *wani* is an indefinite pronoun, this word probably contains the same term. *Mau* (vocative *Mamāu*), used elsewhere in San Cristoval for mother's brother, is very probably the same word, with the prefix *ma* ; and then would have a parallel in the Florida *mavu*, cross-cousin. It is likely that *marahu*, a term to be described presently for a person with whom one has a relation like that of a man with his mother's brother, may be the same word with the prefix *mara* (like, as), very commonly prefixed to nouns in San Cristoval, and having the meaning of the pidgin-English " all-same " with a rather depreciatory sense, so that *marahu* may mean a person, " all-same-mother's brother " (in pidgin-English). The Florida equivalent of *marahu* is *mavu*, a namesake or cross-cousin. The Santa Anna term *sinamapu* for grandparent may contain the same word in its ending, for *upu* or *tupu* is found both in Melanesia and Polynesia for grandparent, and Dr. Rivers shows that *pu* is the root. This term, then, seems to have a very wide range with a variety of meanings—grandparent, mother's brother, cross-cousin, and namesake or close friend. The vocative used for mother's brother in Mota is, in San Cristoval, used for grandfather and elder brother, the word *tatai*.

Adoption in Bauro

Adoption is very widely practised in Arosi as well as in Bauro, but as there is not much difference between the two places, and in Bauro it is, perhaps, even more prominent than in Arosi, it will be described here. There are five kinds of adoption known to me which are regularly practised, all common and all vitally affecting the social life of the people : (1) the *marahu* adoption ; (2) adoption of children or adults taken in war or punished for offences by being sold to people at a distance ; (3) adoption of children by buying them from a distance ; (4) adoption of children at birth ; (5) adoption to keep green the memory of the dead.

[1] *History of Melanesian Society*, vol. ii, p. 179.

[2] With suffixed pronouns *wanipunaku*, *wanipunamu*, *wanipunana*, etc.

(1) *The Marahu Adoption.*—The meaning of the word *marahu*[1] has already been given as (1) a namesake, (2) one with whom a man exchanges names, (3) one with whom he exchanges wives, (4) a friend. The third is seldom seen nowadays, the first and fourth are common enough, the second is the most interesting. Most natives, one is told, have a *marahu* in this sense. There is the famous case of Karani, of Santa Anna, who became " Moto ", exchanging names with the Wango chief who became " Karani ". The practice is to emphasize friendship by the exchange of names, and this gives a man the status of his *marahu*. A small present is exchanged, and the man is considered to have a right to the property of his *marahu*, which will not be withheld from him ; he may take his coco-nuts, his yams, or even tobacco from the bag of the *marahu*, and he has very much the close and intimate relationship to his *marahu* that a boy has to his *mau* or mother's brother.[2] I should know something of the custom, as I have a *marahu* both in Bauro and in Arosi, and have frequently been addressed by their names, both directly and in letters. When I became *marahu* to a Bauro man I was received into his place in the society of the village, called all the people in it by the terms used by him, and was called by the terms they gave him. I was told how to address each, to call a young boy grandfather and another uncle ; and it was explained to me that the names of certain of my new relatives must never be used, i.e., the native name—the baptismal might be ; and how to get over the difficulty when I wished directly to address people whose names I must never use. Above all I must never use the name of one I called *wauwa* (in practice these were elder brothers), not only in direct address but in any conversation, and he might be addressed directly as *Warua* (i.e., the numeral two, with the masculine prefix).[3] I found that not only was I now Amwea, but Amwea people everywhere gave me food as a matter of course, and if I wanted a native bag or limebox they were made for me without any payment being expected or asked, and getting boys for odd jobs became a much easier matter ; tobacco, no doubt, was expected by all Amwea people when they called, and other little gifts, but this was hardly a new fact due to the *marahu* adoption. A *marahu* is a close friend with whom one is on

[1] (p. 22) *Marahu* is used for the husband of the sister's daughter in Kahua.

[2] Cf. the use of *tauvu* in Fiji ; A. M. Hocart, *Journal Royal Anthr. Institute*, xliii, 101. The use of *mavu* in Florida strengthens Mr. Hocart's argument, especially as Fiji and Florida are known to have so many points of resemblance.

[3] Unless it is for *Waura*.

terms of great freedom : like a boy and his uncle, carrying much the same privileges as that relationship ; and is a means of adoption for a foreigner.

(2) and (3) have already been mentioned ; (3) is practised partly to get children without the trouble of rearing them and to replenish the population dwindling through disease or from the practice of child murder ; and also to strengthen alliances, thus making relatives at a distance, and sometimes ending in this way a long period of hostility.

(4) Adoption at birth is very common. In Arosi the first woman to cut the umbilical cord and shave the child's head becomes the mother. Both (3) and (4) put the child exactly into the same position as if he or she had been born into it.

(5) Adoption to keep green the memory of the dead.[1] This is common and important, in that it alters relative terms used, and brings men and women of the same age into the status of those one or two generations removed from them, and so may be the cause of the anomalous marriages found in San Cristoval, or a contributory cause of the apparent confusion in the use of relationship terms. The commonest forms of adoption in Bauro are as follows : A man adopts a small boy to the name and status of his (1) father, (2) mother's brother, (3) grandfather, and a small girl to the name and status of his (1) mother, (2) grandmother. A woman adopts a child to the name and status of (1) her father, (2) herself. The reason given is to keep green the memory of the dead, and it is usually done when the relative dies. Probably there are other forms of adoption which have not come under my notice, and these are all common. They all bring boys and girls into the status of a generation whose members should be older or younger than themselves, while the boys and girls themselves are the playmates of those of their own age whom they call grandparent or father, and some of whom they will subsequently marry. There is nothing strange to them, however strange it may seem to us, in a man marrying in another generation ; and, indeed, as I have said above, generation seems hardly the right word to use in such a case ; perhaps standing or status might be used. An instance of such adoption led not long since to the murder of a white man. A man's mother's brother was drowned in landing from a recruiting vessel, and the man put out money to buy a boy to replace him ; by a misunderstanding

[1] Perhaps this might be called " memorial adoption " ; I do not remember reading of it elsewhere, unless it is this which Dr. Rivers describes in Hawaii.

this was thought to have been put out for a white man in revenge for the accident, and a white man was shortly after killed for the sake of the money. Another example of such adoption is found in what I may call my own family circle. The father of my *marahu*, a man named Mono, wished to remember his own father Sutagera, who had lately died, and bought a boy from twenty miles away somewhat younger than or about the same age as my *marahu*, Waiau Gafuafaro. This boy was then called Sutagera and took his status, becoming Waiau's grandfather, though younger than Waiau. Mono's brother (and Mono himself) always called this young boy *Mama* (father). I, of course, called him grandfather. Later on he married a girl of about his own age, whom he called daughter and Waiau called mother. A boy of the place may be adopted in this way and then all the terms he used before must be altered to suit his new standing. It is an interesting question whether such adoption might not have just the effect of bringing the different genealogical strata together which we find in San Cristoval, and so causing what we call anomalous marriages. Dr. Rivers has collected many instances of such marriages in different parts of Melanesia (the existence of which he deduced from the relationship terms used before the marriages themselves were actually observed), and he has based on the occurrence of such marriages his theory of a Melanesian gerontocracy and the former dominance of the old men, but it is allowable to ask whether a system of adoption such as this might not have the same effect as the marriages of people really one or two generations apart and really different in age ; which Dr. Rivers supposes to have taken place originally, with the final result of seeming to bring together different genealogical strata. For the San Cristoval adoption does this more simply, and is actually taking place ; whereas such marriages of those really two generations apart are rarely known to take place now ; they are rather suppositional, and their former existence deduced from the marriages now of people of the same age but different status.[1] It is quite *conceivable* that any or all of these anomalous marriages may be due to such a system of adoption if it was once generally practised in Melanesia, and it would be worth while to inquire whether such forms of adoption are found where such anomalous marriages occur. Boys in San Cristoval are in this way actually brought into the status of those removed from them by two generations, and marriage with

[1] I think, however, that memorial adoption is a result rather than the cause of anomalous marriages, yet when once in force it may help very much in bringing the generations together.

one called a granddaughter might easily be found actually taking place as a result of this adoption. It is only necessary to imagine certain particular forms of adoption taking place regularly, and the result would be certain anomalous marriages taking place regularly, with the consequent alteration in the relationship terms. Even if such adoption subsequently ceased, the genealogical strata once brought together, the anamalous marriages would continue. But I do not see how the adoption *now* found in San Cristoval could produce the marriages also found there. It leads to children of the same age having the relative status of people two generations apart or even three, but not one generation apart, except in the case of a woman adopting a girl to her own name and status, and this is not common. But in Bauro the anomalous marriages are those of people one generation apart, as in Arosi. This, however, might be explained by the fact that people three generations apart are given the same terms as those divided by only one generation ; the great-grandfather being called *wama*, father, and the great-grandmother *kaina*, mother ; so that the objection is perhaps not insuperable. At all events, this adoption of children to keep green the memory of the dead, giving the children their very names and positions, is well worthy of notice, and cannot be neglected when the cause of these anomalous marriages is considered.

Anomalous Marriages in Bauro

With regard to anomalous marriages actually taking place in Bauro at present, I have not collected much evidence, but I believe the following illustrations are fairly typical :—

At Fagani, out of 20 married men—
13 have married *kasi* (younger sister).
4 have married *kamau* (niece).
2 have married *kakare* (daughter).
1 has married *kaina* (mother).

At Funariki, out of 9 married men—
6 have married *kaina* (mother).
1 has married *kasi* (younger sister).
2 have married *kakare* (daughter).

At Mwanihuki, out of 9 married men—
5 have married *kakare* (daughter).
1 has married *kaupu* (niece).
2 have married *kasi* (younger sister).
1 has married *kaoga* (elder sister).

At Bauro (3 small villages), out of 22 married men—

12 have married *kasi* (younger sister).
4 have married *kaupu* (niece).
2 have married *kaina* (mother).
4 have married *kakare* (daughter).

Altogether out of 60 married people—

29 have married a woman of their own generation.
31 have married a woman a generation above or below.

Personal Names and their Use in Bauro

Personal names hold an important place in native estimation. When a child is born it receives at least two, perhaps three, names. One of these is in the nature of a nickname, connecting the child with some event that took place at the time, or something which recalls the circumstances of the birth. A few years later another name is given, which is the boy's name in ordinary life, for some time at any rate. But at birth, besides the name mentioned above, there is given to the child a name of one of his or her relatives. Now if the names given in a large number of pedigrees are observed, it will be seen, that especially in Arosi, but also in Bauro, certain relatives are almost always chosen to give their names to the child. In the case of a boy he is named usually after his father's father (never the mother's father) or sometimes, but less usually, after his mother's brother, and in Bauro occasionally, but rarely, after his father. In the case of a girl, she is almost always named after her mother's mother (not her father's mother).[1] Now if we remember how, in the *marahu* adoption, taking the name of the *marahu* puts you into his position, so that formerly you exchanged wives with him (I think this was certainly done), and you have, after taking his name, his status in society ; and when we remember also how in adoption a boy, by taking the name of a man's father or grandfather, takes also his status and general position in society, I think the importance of naming after these particular relatives is clear : a boy so named must come into their position : he is, in fact, called the *marahu* of the person after whom he is named, and in many cases he is called by the relationship terms which really belong to his namesake, this very usual custom causing me a good deal of difficulty when I first began recording pedigrees. It is, then, the position of his father's father into which a boy normally comes, occasion-

[1] These names are not always given when pedigrees are obtained, unless special inquiry is made.

Fig. 2. CHURCH AT FAGANI

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ally into that of his uncle, while a girl normally comes into the position of her mother's mother. It follows, I think, that in native opinion the boy can marry a woman who is the wife or potential wife of the man into whose status he comes : the wife of his father's father ; and a girl can marry the husband of her mother's mother. Such seems to be the logical conclusion that a Melanesian would draw from the naming after these particular relatives. Both marriages, that of a man with a woman who has the status of his father's father's wife, and with a woman who has the status of his daughter's daughter, would thus naturally follow the custom of naming in this way the children, or rather, perhaps, the naming of this way would follow such marriages. The former takes place in Arosi, the latter, so far as I know, does not ; but in Bauro the terms seem to point to it, and adoption to a standing two generations higher would seem naturally to result in such a marriage. In the other case (that of naming a boy after his mother's brother), there again this should put him into the status of that relative, and he should marry a woman who is the wife or possible wife of the mother's brother ; which, in fact, is commonly done both in Arosi and Bauro, the boy marrying, it will be remembered, the widow of his mother's brother, or more usually her younger sister. Here, again, this manner of naming probably follows such marriages, and is not the cause of them.

It is possible that the naming after the father's father in the case of a boy, and the mother's mother in the case of a girl, might be due to a belief in reincarnation, combined with the belief that the reincarnate spirit must come into the body of one of his or her own moiety or kin. There is, in Bauro at any rate, some belief in reincarnation, though it does not seem to hold an important place in native thought. Yet my *marahu* Waiau is said to be a reincarnate spirit. He was born, and named as usual, but was very sickly when he was a few days old, and indeed from birth. At this time a man named Waiau died, and his spirit returned to the sickly baby, when it was given his name, and the new Waiau recovered and grew strong. So a boy named Baurabe, living at Bia on the south coast of Arosi, is a reincarnate spirit. A man named Wairiu at Mwanihukl told me there was a general belief in reincarnation (I have been told repeatedly in Arosi that they do not believe in it). He said if a child cries, names of the dead are called till he stops crying, to show which he desires, i.e. what ghost has been reborn. I have, myself, seen this done in the case of the baby of a man named Mamake ; this baby refused many times till, finally, in despair, Mamake said perhaps it was a Christian spirit, and tried the name Mary,

at which the baby stopped crying, and Mamake immediately called her by this name, and suggested she should be baptized. Wariu said the names of ancestors were chosen partly for this reason and partly for remembrance. The fact that the spirit Hatuibwari, who lives at Marau Sound, the abode of the dead, is said to put the spirits into the wombs of women, seems to bear on this, and I think there is probably much to be learnt about reincarnation in San Cristoval. But even if this were the reason for so naming children, all the more would they have the status of these relatives, after whom they were named, since they would be those very relatives incarnate, and would naturally take their position in society. The naming after the mother's brother might be analogous and later.[1]

It has not been meant here seriously to suggest memorial adoption as a sufficient explanation of the anomalous marriages, even in San Cristoval, far less in Melanesia. There is actual evidence in San Cristoval of old men handing on their wives as the second wives of younger men, and memorial adoption is perhaps itself an indirect result of the anomalous marriages; but when once established it must help to bring the generations together in appearance; and I wished to emphasize its effect on relationship terms, perhaps more in the past than in the present, and to suggest that it has really been a contributory cause of the state of things we now find in San Cristoval.

The anomalous marriages themselves are seen to be very common at the present time, just as Dr. Rivers had predicted, and whether in the dual or totem region. I think my inquiries have been wide enough to allow me to conclude that half, or even more than half, of the marriages of the people of Arosi and Bauro are made between men and women separated from one another by one or sometimes two generations; and yet so far back do the roots go of such a state of society that the ordinary observer sees men marrying women of about their own age and does not suspect anything unusual in the marriages. The real discoverer of these San Crostoval anomalous marriages is Dr. Rivers.

Finally, there is one point on which I should like to add a note. Natives when considering in what relation they stand, reckon from person to person: so-and-so is *hai*-so-and-so to someone else, that

[1] The vague belief in reincarnation, for I have really found nothing more than this, appears to belong to the dual people rather than the bird totem people.

someone else *hai*-so-and-so to another person, and so on till the connexion is made.

Now it is evident that with all these different marriages taking place, sometimes one and sometimes another, a man's relations by marriage must be called by very varying terms ; and such is the case the unexpected term is almost always used for a relative by marriage.

But it is also possible that closer relatives may be named by varying terms, according to the way in which a man reckons, either through his father or mother. For example, a woman may make in Arosi any one of five marriages: she may marry her " brother ", father's " brother ", mother's cross-cousin, husband's sister's son, or brother's daughter's son. Now when her son has to name his father's sister he may say : " What is my mother to her ? " and might in this way call her *ina*, *wae*, *haho*, or *mau*, the first two most frequently. Since we find the father's sister sometimes called *wae*, perhaps this way of reckoning is used. So the father's brother might be *ama*, *uwai*, *doora*, or *mau*, and there is one case in the pedigrees of a father's brother being called *uwai*, but only one. In the same way a man may marry in a variety of ways and then, if his son reckons from the father, the mother's sister might be called *mau* (niece) or she might be *asi* or *haho*, and so the children *mau*. I have never found the mother's brother called anything but *mau*, and in almost every case the father's brother is unhesitatingly called *ama*, but sometimes people hesitate as to how to name the father's sister and mother's sister, especially the former, and possibly it may be for the reason that, with such marriages taking place, these relatives will stand in different relations to a person as viewed from his father's or his mother's side.

The custom of marrying the *mau*, i.e. the daughter of the cross-cousin, is probably comparatively recent, for the custom of avoidance seems to point back to a cross-cousin marriage, and, as a matter of fact, a native said to me: " We marry the *mau* because we can no longer marry the *haho*." Probably the custom of marrying the brother's daughter is also comparatively recent. On the other hand, the custom of marrying the wife or wife's sister of the mother's brother, who is in a classificatory sense the father's sister, is evidently dying out, and it is only in the bush that the children of the mother's brother are regularly called *gare*. Still more may this be said of marriage with the *wae* : all the cases I have found of this occur in the interior, and I have been told repeatedly that " this custom was formerly common, but is no longer followed ". The general tendency, therefore, now is for

a man to marry a woman a generation below him (unless he marries, as at least half do, in his own generation) ; whereas the evidence points to a time when a man married a generation above him, and to a still earlier time when he married a woman two generations above his own. The tendency in Bauro seems to be in the same direction.

Avoidance and Mutual Duties of Relatives in Bauro

On the south coast of Bauro, at Parigina and elsewhere, intercourse between brother and sister (actual brother and sister) is forbidden. A brother must never :—

(1) Name his sister.
(2) Approach her.
(3) Laugh or play in her presence.
(4) Touch anything belonging to her or even lying near her.
(5) Go into a house where she is.
(6) Enter the same canoe.
(7) Tread on her bed mat.
(8) Meet her in the path (one turns into the bush).
(9) Go into the garden she is in.
(10) Speak to her.

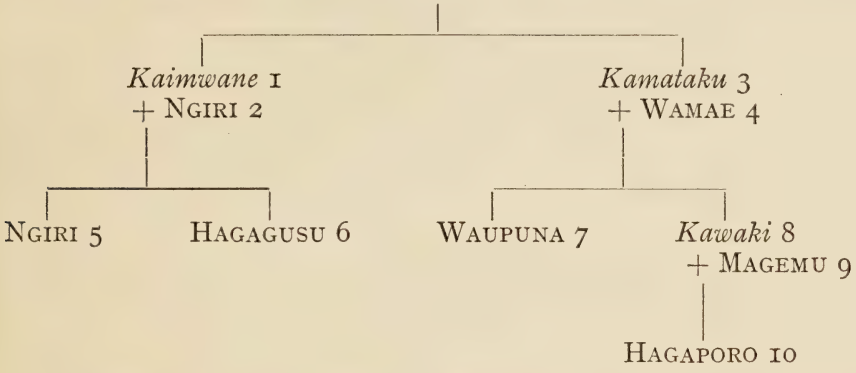
And these restrictions hold even when both are grown up and married, and until their death ; to an Englishman, accustomed to think of his sisters as his most intimate friends and counsellors, a truly strange state of affairs, but nevertheless one that holds also elsewhere in Bauro, though the regulations are not everywhere so strict, yet everywhere a man should avoid his sister and never name her or speak to her.

At Parigina cross-cousins treat one another similarly, and also at Fagani, as in Arosi [1] ; but in some parts of Bauro they may and do marry.

A boy treats his elder brother with quite exceptional respect : he must never laugh or joke in his presence, and never use his name in conversation (except a baptismal name) ; he is shy and reserved in his presence. In giving a pedigree someone else must name the informant's elder brother. He calls the elder brother *tatai* (also the elder sister), including elder cross-cousins in parts of Bauro.

[1] These Arosi cross-cousin restrictions are not enforced after the cross-cousins are both married.

On the other hand, a boy and his mother's brother are on a relation of great freedom towards one another. They are always joking and laughing at one another. The mother's brother (or even the sister's son) is asked by a man to make arrangements for his marriage. An actual case came under my observation where a young man, Hagagusu, wished to marry. The following pedigree will make clear the proceedings :—



Hagagusu (6) first went to Hagaporo (10), a small boy, and Hagagusu's *waupu*, and told him he wished to marry a girl called Kawuri, who was his *kasi*. Hagaporo then went to 5 and 7, the *waura* (elder brothers) of 6, and talked it over with them. Later on Hagaporo went and worked in the garden of Kawuri's father and slept at their house. Magemu (9) had already spoken to the father and mother, this being his duty. Hagaporo told the father and mother of Kawuri that he wanted a wife for himself, meaning for his uncle. The rest of the proceedings need not be described here, but what happened in this particular case shows well how each relative has his proper part to play in such transactions, the elder brothers, whom Hagagusu is much too shy to approach, being informed and acting as stately advisers, the sister's husband taking the first steps, but the real work being done by the young nephew, to whom Hagagusu can talk quite freely, and who is his constant companion.

The nephew receives his uncle's property when the uncle dies, except some portions reserved for the brothers of the dead man ; and during lifetime the uncle and nephew share things, and are quite free to take each other's possessions if they so wish. In Bauro, as well as in Arosi, the nephew often marries the widow or younger sister of his mother's brother.[1] He helps his uncle continually in garden work, and

[1] In an article in the *Southern Cross Log* I denied this ; but I was mistaken (*Southern Cross Log*, October, 1917, p. 10).

the two are wonderfully intimate in a variety of ways, the relationship being most like, perhaps, that between two bosom friends ; but there is nothing quite like it in our civilization.

The father's sister has a position of importance, and it is she, in Bauro, in parts of Bauro at any rate, who cuts the umbilical cord when a child is born. Her brother's child must obey her, and may go freely to her house, and may take her things. Her husband is called *Wareha*, presumably " the great one " (the *mwaneraha* or chief is here *mwaereha*, so no doubt *wareha* is the same word, *raha* with the masculine prefix). This, a Motlav man remarked to me, was in great contrast to their custom, for in Motlav they would put his food on the ground, cook food for him, and then throw it away, throw dust on his head, and generally deride him.[1]

[1] Both customs might serve the same purpose—to magnify the father's sister.

CHAPTER IV

KAHUA AND UGI

Kahua

ABOUT Kahua and Ugi I shall say very little beyond giving the relationship terms from both places. In Kahua (these facts were learnt at Toroa, five miles east of Kahua Point) both the brother-sister and the cross-cousin restrictions are found. Women are sometimes bought, as in Arosi, for wives (this is very unusual in Bauro), and in that case do not return to their mothers; but in the case where a woman is not bought, she and her husband may live either with the husband's or wife's people. The Pagewa (Shark) and Urawa clans are found, and I think perhaps one or two others, as well as Atawa and Amwea, but the pedigrees show almost everybody to belong to the two latter. Pagewa people are also found in bush villages.

The relationship terms are similar to Bauro, and are as follows :—

wira, grandfather.
waima, father, etc.
wamo, mother's brother, sister's son.
wahungo, male relations by marriage, a generation above or below.
wauwa, elder brother.
wasi, younger brother, grandson.
waiha, sister's husband, etc.
wakare, son.
kira, grandmother.
kaina, mother.
kamo, sister's daughter.
kahungo, feminine equivalent of *wahungo*.
kauwa, elder sister.
kasi, younger sister, granddaughter.
kaiha, brother's wife, etc.
kakare, daughter.

Aharo is used as in Bauro as a general word for relations by marriage of the same generation.

keuwa is written for *kauwa* ;
marahu is used for husband of the niece, *kamo* ;
geteiaku [1] is used for wife ; also *hehene aku* ;
waupu may be used for *wamo*.

[1] *Getei* means woman.

The masculine and feminine prefixes are often dropped. In direct address *mama* is father, *taitai* mother. The Bauro *tatai* and *mamāu*, used in direct address to elder brother and mother's brother, are not used, being replaced by *wauwaku* and *moku* (*ku* = my). A pedigree shows that anomalous marriages take place. A man does not joke or talk much to his elder brother; and has the same relations with his mother's brother as in Bauro.

I obtained two short pedigrees from the other coast of Kahua district (from Napasiwai) which show that *waura* and *kaura* are used there for grandfather and grandmother; *wamau* and *kamau* for nephew and niece. *Wasi* and *kasi* are used (as at Toroa) for cross-cousin, as well as for younger brother and sister; and though the pedigrees do not give examples, probably they are also used for grandson and granddaughter. *Waoga* is elder brother, *hehene* wife. *Keikei* was given as the vocative form of *kaina* (mother). *Kaura inoni* was given as the term for the wife of a younger brother.

In both places descent was matrilineal, and only Atawa and Amwea appeared in the pedigrees. At Napasiwai, Atawa and Amwea were said to live together, and another clan, Maroa, at a little distance by itself.

At Toroa I was told Atawa cannot eat the fish *iga tatari* (a separate clan, it will be seen, at Santa Catalina), or, as in Rafurafu, drink the pale coco-nut (*niu maho*). Here also, as at Rafurafu, I was told of restrictions in eating; should Atawa eat food after Amwea had eaten it they would become feverish, suffer from headache, and probably die. My informant was an Atawa man, but the reverse probably holds, as I was told at Rafurafu that if Atawa eat coco-nuts, breadfruit, areca nut, betel pepper, or Malay apple (*niu*, *parego*, *pua*, *amadi*, *kafika*), Amwea cannot eat them; but only these foods; and that Atawa should not eat if Amwea have eaten of them first. At Rafurafu (Bauro), and there only, I heard a story of the origin of Atawa from a woman who, in a famine, was saved by finding and eating from a *kafika* (Malay apple) tree. At Maepua, in the centre of Bauro, Atawa and Amwea plant their coco-nuts apart, as they do in some parts of Kahua.

Here I may note again how Atawa differs from the totem clans in having different totems ascribed to it in different places, if it has any at all. In Arosi it has birds connected with it, *tahitahi marada* at Wango on the north coast, and a small bird, called *bibisu*, at Bia on the south coast; but in the west the *hada*, or eagle. In Kahua it is connected with *iga tatari*, an eastern (Santa Catalina) clan, and with the light coloured coco-nut; in Bauro, in the central part of the

island, either with the light coloured coco-nut or with nothing at all. In Santa Anna, identification with the snake clan has led to a connexion with the snake.

A special point of interest certainly is its connexion with the *niu maho*, the light coloured coco-nut: a tree which is also planted at the *pirupiru* or sacred sacrificial spot by the shore, and in Arosi on the *ariari*. But this coco-nut is connected elsewhere with one of two moieties —in the Gazelle Peninsula, New Britain ;[1] and the corresponding moiety, Pakilaba, in Duke of York Island, is further similar to Atawa in that it is said to be characterized by three folds in the palm of the hand, whereas the other moiety, Taragau, has four (Amwea has four in San Cristoval).

The restrictions as to Amwea not eating certain foods after Atawa and the particular foods named are also interesting. May these have been introduced by Atawa ? This seems unlikely ; but I do not know enough of their distribution, or the names for these trees where they are found, to say if this is possible. The coco-nut and Malay apple might have been introduced by Atawa. The practice of chewing betel nut is comparatively recent, but the plants may not be so. I am told that betel chewing is now rapidly displacing kava drinking in Motlav in the Banks Islands : the people had the plants before, but treated them as of no importance, and have only lately learnt their use from the Solomon Islands. But if they were not in use why should Atawa introduce them ? Some other explanation seems necessary.

Ugi

I collected one pedigree from Ugi ; I tried also to get the old Ugi terms of relationship, and if I have succeeded, it will be seen that they are very similar to those of Ulawa given by Dr. Rivers ; but Ugi has *asi* in place of *inia*, and *mau* in place of *uweli*.

The relationship terms given in this pedigree are as follows :—

wauwa, grandfather.
pwapwa, grandmother.
ama, father.
nike, mother.
mau, mother's brother, sister's child.
asi, sister, m. speaking ; brother, w. speaking.
aula, brother, m. speaking; sister, w. speaking.
waiha, sister's husband, brother's wife, or *aiha*.
keni(*inau*), wife.
hungo, wife's parents.
kale, son or daughter.

[1] Rivers, *History of Melanesian Society*, vol. ii, pp. 501–3.

This system is as simple as that of Ulawa, and scarcely differs from it. *Wauwa* shows the masculine prefix. The use of the masculine prefix in *waiha* with feminine relatives is interesting, and as the form *aiha* is also found, perhaps the *a* of *aula* represents *wa*, and is another example of the use of the masculine term for females.[1] The use of the pronoun *inau* instead of *ku* or the possessive *aku*, with the word for wife should be noted. In the pedigree no grandchildren occurred, but probably *wauwa* and *pwapwa* were used as in Ulawa.

Note on the Polynesian word *Atua*[2]

On general considerations it seems probable that the original meaning of *atua*, like that of *tataro* and *tamate*, was "ghost" or "ancestor", though it is only the last of these three words which shows this clearly by its etymology.

We have seen in Bauro that *wauwa* and *kauwa*, meaning elder brother and sister or grandfather and grandmother, are found frequently elsewhere, but (San Cristoval languages largely dropping *t*) in the forms *tuga* (Florida) and *tutua*, *tukana* (Fiji), without the sex prefixes of the dual people.

We have also seen that these sex prefixes remain sometimes as *a* in other languages, *aiha* being found in Ugi for *waiha*, and *aula* in Ulawa for *waura*. This last may be, indeed, as Mr. Ivens says, the personal article *a*; but this personal article itself may well be derived from these sex prefixes and be their only, or almost their only, representative in Polynesia; for in San Cristoval the prefixes are used with names.

Tuwa is a very widespread word for "old". It is found in Java; in Borneo *tuai* is "the old man or chief" of a Dyak community[3]; the Mota *tuai* means old or ancient; and the Polynesian form of it is *tua*.

In Wango *wauwa* is used frequently as a general word for ancestors, probably as a natural extension of its use for grandfather (and *wa* is not now in Wango a masculine prefix). If, as I suppose, these relationship terms *uwa* and *tutua* (and also the Polynesian *matua*, parent) are closely related to the Java word *tuwa*, old, we might expect to find the

[1] The personal article *a* may itself represent the *wa* of Bauro. Mr. Ivens says that in Ulawa this personal article *a* "coalesces with certain nouns of relationship which begin with *u*". *Grammar of Ulawa*, p. 33; *Journal of Polynesian Society*, xxii, 1.

[2] In an Arosi Bush dialect *atua* = *adaro* (ghost); this is the only Melanesian dialect in which the word seems to occur in the Solomons.

[3] Gomes, *Seventeen Years among the Sea Dyaks*, p. 88.

San Cristoval word *wauwa* as *tua* in Polynesia,[1] or it might retain the prefix as *atua*, like the Ulawa *aula* from *waura*, the Ugi *aiha* from *waiha*.

In this case *atua* may be an old Polynesian word for grandfather or ancestor. The difficulty is that *tupuna* is so used, but that may have been introduced with this meaning into Polynesia by later comers, the Kava people of Dr. Rivers ; although already in use in this older Austronesian stratum in a different sense.

At all events, seeing that words, whose root is *tua* or *tuwa*, old, are used for relationship terms very widely—brother (if older), father, grandfather, and (in San Cristoval) ancestor—and that the San Cristoval prefixes are found elsewhere as *a* (and in Malaita *auwa* is actually found for *wauwa*), *atua* might well occur in Polynesia with this meaning of " ancestor ".

It is tempting to suppose that in the Fijian *tukana*, grandfather (*na* is only a suffix), and the Santa Cruz *duka*, a ghost, we have a similar double use, the *Dukduk* Society of New Britain being called by the old dual word for grandfather or ancestor, and the *Tamate* Society of the Banks Islands by a word of much later origin, though with a similar meaning—" ghost " or " ancestor " societies.

Another possible derivation, however, for these words is that suggested in my book, *An Introduction to the Study of Oceanic Languages*, p. 62, from the root *ruka* or *runga* (Maori) up, above ; a derivation which supposes that the soul was thought to go to the sky, and that there was worship of sun, moon, and stars among some Oceanic peoples. Thus would the Solomon Island *ta-runga* (Wango, *a-unga*), soul, spirit, receive an explanation ; and kindred words such as New Guinea *a-rua*, a spiritual being ; Maori *wai-rua*, the soul of a human being, or the ninth heaven, or distant, almost invisible ; Tahitian *va-rua*, the soul, spirit. It is quite possible that *t* may be found instead of *r* in some languages, and that parallel forms to the above are Mota *tuka*, the sky ; Santa Cruz *duka*, a ghost ; and Maori *a-tua*. In Meli (Efate) a human being on dying becomes a *te-tua*, a word which is also used generally for any supernatural being, and is a synonym for *natamate* (Mota *tamate*).

To put it shortly, *atua* may be related either to the Mota *tuka*, the sky, or to the Fiji *tuka-na*, grandfather, with intermediate forms *tatua* or *watua* respectively.

[1] With the meaning elder brother it is found as *tuakana*.

1

——	San Crist.	Malaita.	Florida.	Fiji.	Maori.
Elder brother .	*wa-uwa* .	*a-uwa* .	*tuga* .	*tutua*	
Grandfather . .	*wa-uwa* .	—	—	*tuka-na*	
Ancestor . . .	*wa-uwa* .	—	—	—	*a-tua* ?

2

Mota *tuka* (sky), Meli *tetua* (ghost, spirit), Maori *atua* ?
Santa Cruz *duka* (ghost).
Maori *runga* (up, above), Maori *wai-rua*, Tahiti *va-rua* (soul).
Florida *ta-runga* (spirit, soul), New Guinea *arua* (soul, spirit).

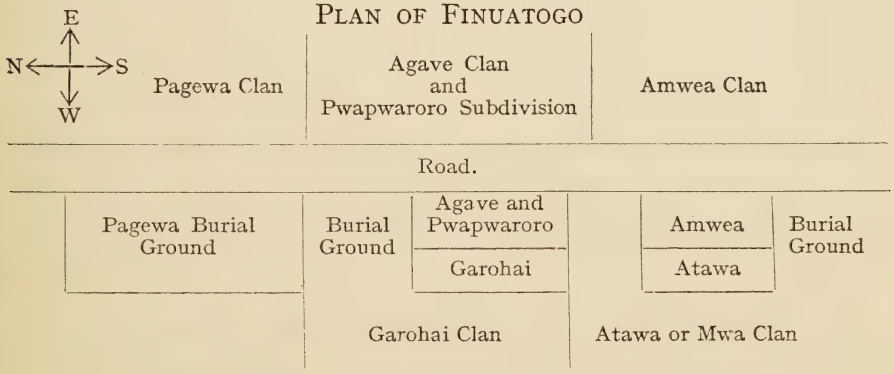
CHAPTER V

SANTA ANNA AND SANTA CATALINA

1.—*Totemism*

SANTA ANNA is quite a small island, across which one can walk in less than half an hour. There are only two villages, one on the lee and the other (the original settlement) on the weather side, but both these villages are very large as Melanesian villages go, much larger than any on the mainland. The village on the weather side is now the larger, containing between four and five hundred people, but according to native tradition the older village was very much larger than this. The village on the lee side, named Ubuna, was formed as the result of a great fight in ancient times, when a large part of the population were driven out of their home and came across to Ubuna. It is the original village, called Finuatogo, which is here described. Down the middle of this ran a road about three-quarters of a mile long, and the houses were built on each side. Three of the five clans into which the people were divided lived on one side of this road, and two on the other. They were further divided into pairs: Atawa and Amwea, living opposite one another, shared a burial ground; Agave and Garohai, the next pair, also had a burial ground in common, while Pagewa lived alone. Agave, however, had a small subdivision, Pwapwaroro, who lived with them. The subjoined plan will make this description clearer :—

PLAN OF FINUATOGO



These clans are named after animals, except the first two. Pagewa is the shark, Agave the crab, Pwapwaroro the firefly, Garohai the turtle ; Atawa is generally called Mwā the snake ; Amwea is not the name of any animal, and the word is not known to have any meaning. The native name for clan in Santa Anna, as in Kahua and parts of Bauro, is *waro ni noni*, that is " the string of people ",[1] the idea being explained to me as that of stringing a number of beads together. Just as the village is divided among the clans, so all property on the island is likewise divided ; garden land, coco-nuts, and so on : each clan has its own.[2] When a party of men from Santa Anna go on a canoe voyage up the coast to Haununu, the Haununu people remark on the fact that members of different clans will not even then, among strangers, eat food cooked in a common pot, but it must be cooked in a separate vessel for each clan. The members of the clans believe they are the descendants of the animals after which the clans are named ; stories are told of the original animal ancestor of the clan : no member may eat of the animal from which his clan takes its name ; and sacrifices and prayers are regularly offered by the members of clans to their animal ancestors. This seems to present a case of pure totemism, in which all the elements necessary to constitute totemism are present. In the case of the Garohai or turtle clan, the story runs as follows. In very ancient days, before Santa Anna existed, a turtle lived on the neighbouring island of Santa Catalina. This turtle had two children, a boy and a girl. The children noticed that the turtle used to take coco-nuts and bananas and plant them on a certain spot at the bottom of the sea, not far from Santa Catalina, and by and by they asked their mother her reason for planting these things at the bottom of the sea. The turtle, in reply, told her children to make a hook from a piece of her shell, and when they had done this they then got out their outrigger canoe and paddled over to the spot where the turtle had been busy planting useful trees underneath the sea, and there they cast their hook, which the turtle fixed on to a rock below, and the children pulled lustily, but the rock broke. However, the turtle fastened it to another rock, which was firmer, and the children hauled on the line, and up came Santa Anna all ready prepared and planted ; and as for the truth of this story you have only to go to the east side of the island and there before your face is the broken rock where the hook failed at the first

[1] Not *waru inuni*, as in my article in the *Southern Cross Log*, op. cit.
[2] See Chapter XXIII.

attempt. The names of the children of the turtle were Waikariniparisu and Kapwaronaro. The girl Kapwaronaro bore children, and it is from them that all the turtle people come. They throw into the sea money, nuts, and food of various sorts to turtles. None of the turtle clan may eat any part of a turtle, and the consequence of breaking this rule, even in ignorance, is death. The sister of my friend's father unhappily made this mistake : coming home hungry from her garden work, and seeing the turtle meat in the house and thinking it was pork, she ate a little and died in a few hours ; nor is hers a solitary instance. The turtle clan is the chief clan on Santa Anna, since to their ancestress the people owe the island itself ; and they have a peculiar privilege. At the eastern point is the stone that broke, and there beside it the two children of the turtle turned into two rocks. When boys and girls in Santa Anna come to a certain age they go through a ceremony called *Haaraha*, i.e. " making great ", or " becoming a chief ".[1] At the final feast, the boy or girl is placed on a platform and decorated with ornaments, and then a boy of the Garohai (turtle) clan goes to the sacred rock-children and covers them over with coco-nut leaves, and on the day fixed for the *Haaraha*, the candidate goes to the Garohai boy and gives him money, which his father has provided him with, and they go together to the place, and the Garohai boy then uncovers the two stone children to the gaze of the boy or girl, who now becomes *araha*. It is a time of great feasting and merrymaking, and any Garohai boy may act as master of the ceremonies, some boy probably who wishes to make a little money for himself.

The other clans of Santa Anna may be more briefly referred to. The Atawa clan is called here Mwā or snake, though Atawa is a secondary name. In Bauro Mwā is identified in several places not with Atawa, but with Amwea. There is no meaning attached to the word Atawa, and it is not the name of any animal, fish, bird, or snake. There is an object connected with the Atawa people, and it is the same as that found in parts of Bauro ; they must not drink of the nuts of the small pale-yellow coco-nut. If Atawa (or Mwā) people of Santa Anna drink this coco-nut, their skin soon shows the white blotches of a common skin disease. No sacrifices are offered to the coco-nut, and there is no idea of descent from it. The Amwea clan have no totem and I have not been able to hear of any restrictions at all imposed on members

[1] Apparently all perform this ceremony in Santa Anna ; in Arosi it is only done by members of the Araha clan.

of this clan. The Pagewa (shark) clan are believed to be descended from sharks, and to be connected with them. They must never eat shark flesh, the consequence of doing so being that they are soon covered with *bakua*, an island skin disease akin to ringworm. They sacrifice regularly in the sea to sharks. They have power to be transformed into sharks, as the following story of Kareimanua will illustrate.

A native drawing of Kareimanua appears on p. 117. He was a native of Santa Anna belonging to the shark clan. He was working one day with his father and brother in their yam garden, and as they were all hot and thirsty his father sent the two boys to get some water, and, boy-like, when they got to the stream they decided to bathe before returning. They bathed near the mouth and swam about for a time till Kakafu, the other brother, happened to notice Kareimanua hunching up his shoulders in a peculiar manner as if to resemble a shark, and he called out to him, "Why, Kare, you look just like a shark." Kakafu was out in the middle of the stream, and at those words Kareimanua swam out to him, hunching his shoulders more and more, and frightening his brother, who tried to swim ashore, but Kare was too quick for him, seized him in the water and broke his body in two. He himself did not know why he had done this, and brought the body ashore and tried to fix the two pieces together. While he was doing so another small boy, sent down to see why the brothers were so long in fetching the water, came to the bank and saw Kare looking more and more sharklike and poking about at the two halves of his brother's body. Kare saw the boy, and, impelled by some impulse too strong for him, swam out and away to the open sea, and there he swam about a day and a night, half shark and half human, and then came longingly back to the shore. But the people were all on the watch to seize him, so off he swam again to the open sea for two days and nights, and then wandered home again, only to find the people watching for him and to escape again with some difficulty. And now he felt he was more shark than man, and taking a hollow bamboo, he swam off to Napasiwai, thirty miles to the westward, and coming up at night into the village he pressed his hollow bamboo down on to the great pudding bowls, and so filling it, returned to the sea, and in the morning the people saw the deep impressions. Often Kareimanua wandered back to Santa Anna, only to be driven off. Many a man, fishing in his canoe, Kareimanua would seize and devour after first overturning the canoe, and at last he was driven permanently away from Santa

Anna by a powerful charm, and betook himself to Ulawa, where he still remains.

Canoe houses in Santa Anna are full of carvings of Kareimanua, from his feet to his waist an ordinary man, decorated with an ordinary man's ornaments, but from his waist upward a fierce-looking shark. When you see the impressions of a hollow bamboo in the pudding left overnight in the bowl, Kareimanua has paid you a visit in the night. Little carved figures of him are very common and sold to traders. No doubt they are afterwards labelled as heathen deities, and not without a show of reason, for Kareimanua, the Shark-Man, is sacrificed to by the shark clan, and feared as an evil ghost.

There is another clan at Santa Anna, the Agave or crab clan, descended from a crab ancestress, to whom all crabs are forbidden as food (to eat a crab means to die on the same day). A subdivision of this is the Pwapwaroro or Firefly clan, whose origin was from a firefly who bore a human baby, a girl to whom it gave suck, by a man of Santa Anna. This girl grew up and was married and was the mother of the Firefly clan. Pagewa have all died out.

Such is a short account of the Santa Anna clans. If the plan of the original village is observed, it will be seen that such a village might have been formed if Amwea and Atawa were the original people, living together but separated by a broad path, as tradition says they once were in Bauro ; and then strangers, totem clan people, arrived and simply joined themselves on. Pagewa may have been later still. The name *waro ni nuni* was explained to mean " a string stretching out from one beginning ", which would describe very well such a formation of the village. In Santa Catalina there is also a clan called after a fish, *Iga tatari*, whose members cannot eat of the fish which is their clan totem. *Aopa* was spoken of as a subdivision or as in some way connected with the Mwā or Atawa clan, and the meaning of Aopa did not seem to be known. The interesting point is that here we have clans quite new to San Cristoval : Agave, Garohai, Pwapwaroro, and Iga tatari ; and they show all the marks of true totemism ; nowhere else, unless among the bird clans, is totemism so clear, and they even are not now sacrificed to, at least on the coast, like the totems of these Santa Anna clans. The burial grounds are in the west portion of the village, but unfortunately I did not examine them.

Relationship Terms on Santa Anna

The relationship terms obtained at Santa Anna by means of a pedigree were as follows (in every case man speaking) :—

ema, father, great grandfather.
ena, mother, great grandmother.
eura, mother's father and mother's mother ; reciprocally grandchild.
sinamapu, father's father and father's mother ; reciprocally grandchild.
epu or *mau*, mother's brother.
esi or *ese*, sister, brother.
koa, cross-cousin ; also called *esi*.
kare, son, daughter.
fungo, son's wife, wife's father and mother.
waifa, wife's brother.
inoni (*aku*), wife.

In my notes to another pedigree obtained here, I have written that a grandchild is *sikimapu*, that *waura* was used for the husband of the sister's daughter, and *keikei* is the word used for mother in direct address. In naming the grandparents, I thought *eura* was preferred for the mother's parents and *sinamapu* for the father's ; but either may be used. In my notes to the second pedigree I write *euwa* for elder brother or sister. The words *sinamapu* and *sikimapu* (if the latter is not an error) are very interesting, and also *koa*, which in Arosi means " mate ", " chum ".

I had only two days at Santa Anna, which was a pity, as my informant, a man named Taonga, was particularly intelligent. He had travelled, and remarked when we were talking of cremation that he had seen cremation practised both in Bougainville and Guadalcanar, but in the former the ashes were preserved, while in the latter (and in Arosi) they were not, but that in San Cristoval a man's bag, weapons, and personal property were burnt with him. He was anxious to tell me all he knew of Santa Anna. Two things struck me very much at Santa Anna : the elaborate tattooing, more than one usually sees among Melanesians ; and secondly, the great position and apparent power of the chiefs ; except at Tikopia I have seen no chiefs who seemed to hold such a position in native society, and I was constantly reminded of Tikopia (a Polynesian colony).

The relationship terms are incomplete, and there may be some mistakes in them, so that it is perhaps unsafe to draw conclusions from them. They do not, however, show the masculine and feminine prefixes, though *e* is probably for *ai*, in Kahua *wai* or *kai*. The two terms for grandparents are interesting. Generally speaking the terms seem to place the system as coming between those of Bauro and Arosi and somewhat near that of Ugi or Ulawa.

CHAPTER VI

SPIRITUAL BEINGS

Hi'ona or *Figona*

THE word *hi'ona* means a spirit in Arosi. Elsewhere in San Cristoval *hi'ona* becomes *higona, figona*. In Florida to the west the word is again found as *vigona*, and it is not improbable that the Saa *li'oa* [1] is a variant. At Ulawa the form is *hi'ona*. For the sake of simplicity the word *figona* will be used throughout the book.

A *figona* did not always have an incarnation. Very many pools, rocks, waterfalls or large trees were thought to be the abode of *figona*, but these *figona* were never seen. But the chief *figona*, who really received worship and sacrifice, had all of them a serpent incarnation, and so far as we know, no *figona* had any other incarnation, differing markedly from *adaro* in this, for the latter took freely the form of men, dogs, birds, snakes, trees, or clouds. These serpent spirits could, however, take the form of a stone, or retire within a stone, and sacred stones seem to be connected with *figona* rather than with *adaro*.

It would seem that every spot where a man felt awe, such as a deep gorge, a waterfall, a dark pool, or a wide-spreading tree, was likely to become a *dora maea* or *apuna*, a sacred place, thought to be inhabited by a *hi'ona*. Thus there is a large tree not far from Fagani where a *figona* lived No offering was ever made there, no prayers were addressed to the spirit ; but travellers would go silently past the spot, or speak in whispers. There is a deep river gorge near the inland village Raumae, and a *figona* is said to inhabit it. If a man ventures into the gorge, his soul (*ataro mauri*) may be taken captive by the *figona*, and the man on his return sickens and dies. He may, however, recover by the help of a sorcerer, who has power in sleep to send out his own *ataro mauri* and recover captive souls from the gorge, just as

[1] Wrongly spelt *lio'a* in *The Melanesians*.

he sends out his soul in sleep to discover where things lost or stolen have been hidden. This *figona* seems to act like an *ataro*, and probably sacrifices are made to it. There is a pool near the source of the Wango River, deep and dark, surrounded by walls of grey limestone on whose ledges ferns cluster. This is the abode of a *figona*, and the traveller as he passes throws in a bit of *bua* (areca-nut), from which act the place is called *Hau gasi bua* "the stone where one throws areca-nut". Passing this spot and crossing the low ridge of hills at the watershed, one comes to a steep descent at the summit of which there is a prominent rock, called *Hau roroboa* "taboo stone". Here the traveller plucks and places on the rock a green branch of *ege* (a shrub). As long as the branch does not wither, his feet will not grow weary, however long the way, but when the *ege* withers, the charm has lost its power. No prayer is said and no sacrifice made. It is interesting to compare similar practices elsewhere. There is near the top of the mountain at Mota, in the Banks Group, a spot where stones are piled together. Each visitor in turn takes a stone and adds it to the pile, first resting his hands on top, while his companion lays the stone on them, saying, "May your days in the world be many." Here, too, an overhanging creeper is twisted round the finger. Both acts are explained as a protection, the spot being sacred to a *vui* (spirit). The stone placed on one's hands holds one down in the world of the living. Dr. Codrington describes the same sort of thing,[1] and mentions a case noted by Mr. Forbes in Sumatra,[2] where the porters placed handfuls of leaves on a stone and prayed for a dry day and good luck; and again in Timor, where at the commencement of a steep and precipitous descent the natives laid leaves and twigs on a mound to ensure a safe descent,[3] a practice very like that at Hauroroboa, and there connected with the presence of a *figona*.

But the principal *figona* are very different from these, and they have a serpent incarnation. There is one, indeed, who seems almost like a supreme spirit, called Agunua.[4] It is hard to discover exactly what is meant by Agunua, whose cult was once widespread. Particular places worship particular serpents, or particular *figona* incarnate in serpents, but all these seem to be considered as local representations

[1] Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 185, 186.

[2] Forbes, *Naturalist's Wanderings*, p. 166.

[3] Ibid., p. 481.

[4] Agunua is a name for Hatuibwari, the winged serpent. See pp. 236 seq. Agunua is the Bauru spelling, A'unua the Arosi spelling.

of Agunua, who, as one native said, is "all of them". The centre of the cult is at Haununu, on the south-west coast; but though this is the cult of Agunua, there is a serpent at Haununu, to whom the actual sacrifices are made, who is called Kagauraha, and is in some way the representative of Agunua. Kagauraha is a *figona*, and is said to have created things; but Agunua is the creator. Almost all of these local *figona* are represented as female snakes, Agunua as a male snake. The following is the story of Agunua as told us by some men of Ngorangora :—

"The centre from which the worship of Agunua spread over the island was Haununu. When nuts are gathered and yams dug, the first-fruits are taken and hung up in the gardens and in the houses; part is allowed to remain there and part is sacrificed to Agunua. With these are also placed *awarosi*. Agunua created all things—the sea, the land, men, and animals, thunder, lightning, rain, and storms, rivers, trees, and mountains. When the time has arrived for the offering of the first-fruits, the people place them ready, and wait for the signal from the priest at Haununu. On a certain day the priest, Haganihinou, son of Pwari, who was priest before him, takes the Haununu offerings and sacrifices them to a real snake, a *figona* named Kagauraha. Then the people of Haununu perform the proper rites, and pass on the word to the next village by the sound of the drum. Suppose in this way word has come to Waimumura from village to village, night by night, till it reaches the other side of the island. The people of Waimumura have for some days been expecting it. Their offerings hang ready in their houses. Then the drum beats out the message, 'The Pwirisu (a rail) goes on to you at midnight,' i.e., the *figona* Agunua. Next day at evening each person in Waimumura, man, woman, and child, takes a dracaena leaf and sets it up in his doorway. They then drum on the message to the next villages up and down the coast, 'The Pwirisu goes on to you at midnight.' Then they lie down each on his sleeping mat and wait for the first cock-crowing. When the cocks crow everyone rises, takes his dracaena leaf, and sweeps the house, sweeps the beds, the platforms, the cooking vessels, and everything in the house, saying as he does so a *Haga-rahe*, a prayer :—

Agunua!
Take thou away fever and ague,
Take thou away headache,
Take thou away thieving,

So that our bodies may be light.
Take thou away a bad season, bring in a good.
Keep my feet when I climb an almond tree lest a branch break,
Keep my people when they climb lest any fall,
Preserve the taro so that when planted it may thrive,
And the banana that it may bear good fruit,
Let none steal from my garden, none steal my pigs,
May the pigs increase ; preserve the dogs.

Then all go outside, each carrying his dracaena leaf ; no one must remain in the houses, but all, men and women, children and cripples and sick folk, go together to the sacred grove near the village, sham fighting as they go ; for besides the dracaena leaf each man carries his weapons, and the women and children carry *kafito* (a tree with dry wood used for making fire) to rub fire for the sacrifices. So they go fighting and singing, and the words of the song are these :

The almonds shall ripen,
The pig's tusks shall curl.

When they come to the sacred grove each plants his dracaena leaf in the ground, and they stand round the central tree, and one of them builds a platform of twigs and burns sacrifices of pudding made from the first-fruits, and they all say aloud to Agunua, ' Do thou remain here : when a man shall come from thee from yonder (pointing to the next village), go with him on thy rounds till thou comest again to Haununu.' Then they put a creeper by the tree, so that in that year all creepers by which men climb may be strong and hold them securely, being blessed by Agunua, and they put a stone to represent puddings, so that Agunua may bless all the cooking in that year, and a crooked stick to represent adzes for cutting down trees, that wood-felling may prosper ; and they take a small stick and thrust it through a dracaena leaf, and bend the leaf over to represent a house, that Agunua may bless all craftsmen who build houses in that year, and a pandanus leaf to represent mat-making ; and so all these are blessed by the *figona*. Then they return to their village."

This ceremony takes place once a year, and everyone in the village must take part in it.

Agunua created men. He created a woman, whom when she became old, went one day to change her skin in the stream, for that was then the custom. She had a daughter whom she left in the village. When the old woman had changed her skin she came back, looking

young and lovely once more, but her daughter said, " This is not my mother, this is a strange woman," and would have nothing to do with her. So the old woman went back to the stream, but the water had carried away the old skin, and she wandered some way down the stream before she found it, where an eddy had carried it against a bough overhanging the water, on which it stuck. She put on the old skin and returned to her daughter. " Now I know you," said her daughter, " you are my mother." And so death came into the world, because the child cried and did not know her mother. Otherwise men would always have changed their skins when they grew old.

The same story is told in the Banks Islands of Iroul, the grandmother of Qat; and in Florida of Koevasi, who is said to be superhuman. The stories are exactly alike, even in details. According to the Banks Islands story, the child who cried would be Qatgorosom, Qat's mother. The connexion with a serpent explains the change of skin in the Banks Islands story, where no serpent is mentioned.

There is another story not told of Agunua, but of Kagauraha, Kahausibwari, Kahuahuarii, and other local representatives of Agunua, all of whom were *figona*, and female snakes; and this story has also its parallel in the Banks Islands. The story varies in details in different places, but is in substance as follows :—

One day, the daughter of Kagauraha, who had grown up and married and had a boy, left her boy in charge of his grandmother the serpent. The boy's father did not know of this and was away fishing for bonito. Kagauraha coiled round her grandson and he lay on the coils, but began to cry. Kagauraha said to him, " Grandson, I have no legs : I can't stand up and nurse you." While the child was crying his father came in, and seeing the serpent strangling his son, as he supposed, he chopped it up with a knife. But as he chopped it up the severed pieces united. At last the serpent could stand it no longer, but went off first to the island Ugi, seven miles from San Cristoval, saying as she went, " I go, but now your crops will fail." And that year there was a famine, all the crops failing as had been foretold. When Kagauraha reached Ugi she climbed a tree, but she could still see her home, so she left Ugi and went on to Ulawa, and then to South Malaita. But she could still see her home (various places on the north coast, different in the different stories). She then went to South-East Guadalcanar, Marau, but after a time swam down the south coast of San Cristoval to Haununu. When she got near Haununu she saw two boys in a canoe, who were alarmed and called out, " You are an *ataro*

and will eat us." Said Kagauraha, " It is you two who are *ataro*, I will do you no harm." So they took her home, made a temple, and there she has lived since. She took a yam with her, and gulped this out of her mouth at Haununu, and from this came all sorts of yams.

The Banks Islands story is as follows: A woman who was descended from a large snake, married a man, and they had a child. The man used to go out fishing, and the woman to the gardens, and she used to leave the child in charge of her grandmother the snake, of whose existence her husband was ignorant. One day the man came home and found the snake nursing his child. Surprised and angry, he scolded his wife, who confessed that the snake was her mother. He watched his chance, and one day when his wife and child were away he set fire to the house in which the snake lay and burnt it to the ground. The wife came home and the snake's head spoke to her, " I die, but bury me yonder, and what comes up will be me." So the woman buried the snake, and fenced in the spot, and a coco-nut sprang up there. After a time the first nut was formed, and one day when the man went fishing, the woman noticed the nut. It was a drinking nut, and she plucked it and said to her son, " This is your grandmother," thus explaining the eyes of the nut. When she opened it the milk spurted up and fell on the face of the husband fishing in his canoe far away. He thought it was sweat, but as it ran down his nose he tasted it, and cried, " This is something new." Then he went home and said, " What have you two been eating ? " They gave him the nut and he drank it and said, " This is what fell on me in my canoe." Said his wife, " Do you know that what you are drinking is my mother's blood ? "

The first drinking nut from a coco-nut tree is sacred to Agunua, and the milk is poured out as a libation in the sacred grove. Many stories are told of Agunua. He was thirsty and rain fell to assuage his thirst. This was the origin of rain. A flat circular valley near Mwanihuki is called " Agunua's oven " ; a winding river, Waiatana, is said to wind because Agunua lay there to rest, and the ground was marked with the impress of his coils. The way in which Agunua created things was as follows : He had a twin brother who was a man, and one day he remarked to him, " Here have we been a long while, and there is nothing yet to eat." Presently the man saw the serpent with a yam on its head, and the *figona* said to him, " Plant this for food for my children and let the garden which you make be a large one." But the man replied : " What is the use of clearing a large garden for one small yam ? " " Never mind," replied the *figona*, " make a large

garden and try planting the yam, and if the garden is too large you can come back and tell me." So he took the yam and made an immense garden, but he had nothing to slice up the yam with. The *figona* gave him a shell and he cut up the yam and put the pieces in a basket and began to plant. He kept taking out piece after piece, but the basket never emptied : there were always as many pieces as before. After a time the garden was all planted and he waited for the yams to come up. When the shoots appeared, he found there were all kinds of yams, large and small, red ones and white ones, smooth and prickly, wild and cultivated, and also bananas, coco-nuts, almond trees, and fruit trees of every description. " But," said he, " these are all too hard to eat, how am I to make them soft ? " The *figona* gave him his own staff and said, " Rub on this and see what happens." This was the origin of fire and of the art of cooking. Then he cut up some yams and baked them over the fire. Some he did not look after : they were burnt, and this is the reason why some fruits are uneatable : they came from the pieces he burnt. Some pieces he didn't bake, and hence came wild taro and bananas and other wild things. Other pieces he partly burned, and from these came almonds and other trees, of which some fruit is sweet and some bitter. " Well," said the man, " now I have all food that I need, but how am I to cut a tree to make a food bowl ? " The *figona* gave him a stone and told him to tie on a handle with creepers ; from this came adzes, and he cut down a tree and made a bowl.

When all things were ready the *figona* bore a child, who grew up to be a man, but he was helpless in such matters as cooking, making a fire, and weeding a garden. When the *figona* saw this he gave birth to another child, a girl, who grew up to be a woman, and understood these matters : " Be it your part," said the *figona* to the woman, " to get food and prepare it by cooking and distribute portions of it." And so it has ever been since.

The chief sacrifice to Agunua was the one described as occurring once a year at the sacred grove at early dawn. But people also sacrificed with shell money and by burning pudding made of yams and almonds in their own gardens or separately at the grove. Also prayers were frequently made to the *figona* as well as to *adaro* to restore health to a sick man, or to give rain in a drought, or to increase the crops. No doubt there was some confusion with prayers to *adaro*.[1] At the great annual sacrifice described, sacrifices were offered to *adaro*, especially

[1] See p. 107 for the meaning of this term.

to those incarnate in sharks, after the completion of the sacrifice to the *figona*, usually on the following day, or even on the same day; but nothing could be sacrificed to an *adaro* till the rites connected with the *figona* had been performed.

There seems to be some reason for thinking the cult of Agunua to have been much more widespread in the past than it is now. The people themselves say it was once all over the island, the drums carrying the message rapidly to all parts. In a letter written in 1856, Bishop Patteson mentions the serpent worship. "Is it not a significant fact," he writes, "that the god worshipped in Gera and in one village in Bauro is the serpent!" By Gera, is meant, no doubt, Marau Sound in South-East Guadalcanar, a district with which the Bishop was well acquainted, and by Bauro probably Arosi, at the north-east end of San Cristoval, from which he had obtained boys and where he was well known.

In *A Naturalist among the Head Hunters*, Mr. Woodford tells how one morning at Aola, on the north coast of Guadalcanar, "the whole village turned out to sacrifice to the *tindio* presiding over the Canarium nut, or Solomon Island almond. The almonds had been ripe a week, and I had expressed a desire to have some, but my boy, Hogare, had informed me that it was quite impossible to have some until the offering to the *tindio* had been made." Mr. Woodford then describes the proceedings. They all went down to the sea shore, and "a space was swept clean beneath the spreading branches of a Barringtonia." They then made little altars of dry sticks, and first-fruits were sacrificed, fire being made by rubbing. This so much resembles the sacrifice made to the *figona* that we would suggest it really was the same. *Tindio*, or *tindao*, is the equivalent, however, of the San Cristoval *ataro*, not *figona*. But in San Cristoval sacrifices were sometimes made to the *ataro* practically at the same time, as soon as the *figona* rites were concluded, and Mr. Woodford may easily have failed to hear any mention of the former; or possibly the *tindio* had really displaced the *figona* in that part of Guadalcanar. At all events, if not now the same thing, it appears to be a survival of the *figona* cult and an evidence of its former extension.

A native of Ulawa informs us that, in ancient times at any rate, the worship of Agunua was practised in Ulawa. It was still practised when the islands known as the Three Sisters were inhabited by natives. These islands are half-way between San Cristoval and Ulawa, and it was the practice in those days, we are told, for a party of natives from

Ulawa to paddle over to the Three Sisters and wait there for tidings from Haununu. In the meanwhile a party from the Three Sisters had gone over to San Cristoval. When the worship and sacrifices began on the San Cristoval coast, these men brought the news to the Three Sisters, whence it was carried on to Ulawa by the party who were waiting. When Medana discovered the islands in 1567, they were inhabited. D'Urville saw them in 1769, but whether inhabited or not we do not know. When Englishmen began to know them, about 1850, they were uninhabited, and had long been so according to native accounts.

Tales of Figona

1. *Wanimaniaru and Waniwagawaga.*—The people of the village were afraid that Wanimaniaru and Waniwagawaga would kill some of them in revenge for the waste of their yams, which the people had thrown at one another in a sham fight. Then the spirit Agunua brought on a famine to punish them, and they all went to Kufé, inland, all except those two, that is; they still remained, but grew weak with hunger, eating a pig and nuts only. But the spirit pitied those two, and let them have again the food that grows in the gardens; so that Waniwagawaga saw one day yams shooting up at the door of his house, and taking stakes, he twined his yam vines round them; and at the same time Wanimaniaru saw taro springing up, and he fenced it round. When the yams and taro came to maturity, the two made puddings of the roots, and they sacrificed to the spirit; and they worked together in their garden, and found the food very plentiful. Then their people noticed the garden and came back from Kufé, inland, to those two men, and when they came near they asked them, "Are you two still alive?" "Yes," said they, "we are still alive"; and their friends said, "But what have you had to eat to keep you alive like this?" "Oh," said they, "nothing but a pig and nuts; Waniwagawaga killed the pig and cut off its head and gave it to Wanimaniaru."

2. *Karamunagau.*—The serpent Karamunagau came at first from an island in the open sea to a village called Fafara, near Rumahui, on the north-west end of San Cristoval. Her head reached the shore and told them to make for her a house, tall and long. When the people had made the house the serpent landed and coiled herself within it. She told them to go and mark out a garden, but when they had done so she was not satisfied, as the garden was too small. They therefore marked out another. This time she was pleased, and told them to cut down the trees. When the trees had been cut down and the fallen

timber burnt, the garden was spaced out with lines of logs, and then a charm was uttered over the stakes up which the yam vines would run, and another for the stone axes with which they were cut. Then the garden was planted with yams, which in due course sprouted, were staked up, grew to maturity, and were dug. A small yam was first dug and put in the house sacred to the serpent.

After this she told them to go and look for opossums ; only the male ones were to be eaten. Soon the people of the village were plagued with sickness, which was inflicted on them by the serpent because it desired to eat the flesh of a pig and no pig had been offered. They sacrificed a pig and all recovered. At another time a number of them fell sick because no shell-money had been offered. Those who refused to sacrifice any died. About this time the people got tired of the serpent and told her to leave them. She went south-east to Mwanigatoga. When she reached this place, she said to the people, " I come here to dwell among you, but I bring with me no sacrifices." Until this time the people of Mwanigatoga had not made any sacrifices for the fruits of the ground, but the serpent told them that henceforth they must do so before any of them ate their yams or taro. " Don't take your yams and taro without giving thanks," said the serpent, " but do as I tell you and sacrifice to me." The people, however, had no wish to make sacrifices of first-fruits to the serpent, and told her she might go to some other place. " I go," replied the serpent, " but remember I have begun among you this practice of sacrificing the first-fruits of your gardens." She then swam out to sea, swimming with her head and tail out of the water. On that day there was only one man in the village of Haununu ; the rest had gone up into the bush to work in their gardens. This man looked out to sea, and saw the head and tail of the serpent standing up out of the water like an enormous tree. Those in the bush hurried down, but meanwhile the serpent had landed at the point called Mararo, and the solitary man in the village advanced trembling to meet her. " Fear not," said the serpent, " but go and look for a place where I may dwell." He showed her Wainaou and she told him to build her a house there. The rest of the people were afraid and wished her to go away, but she said to them, " Fear not, my children, I am your mother." While she lived here she gave birth to two young serpents, the first a female named Kafinuagigisi and the second a male named Finuagigisi. The people of Bofarito, an inland village, now claimed the serpent, as the man who had welcomed her to Haununu was really a bushman, a native of Bofarito. So there she went and there

she remained, but of the people who sacrificed to her there, only two remain, and the rest are all dead.

3. *Hatuibwari*.[1]—This serpent came from Marau Sound to Ngongo near the south-east point of Marou Bay. Here he made his home. His coming took place in this manner. A certain woman went one day to the reef gathering food, various kinds of shellfish. She saw a stone coming in on the waves, and the surf threw it close beside her. She picked it up, without taking any particular notice of it, but thinking it a good stone for cracking shells with, she put it in her basket. After a time she went back to the shore and began looking for a stone to crack her shellfish with, forgetting the stone which she had put away in her basket. Presently, however, she remembered it, and sitting down by a large flat rock, she took out the stone which the waves had thrown at her feet and lifted it up to crack her shellfish ; but as she held it up in the air, flashes of lightning darted backwards and forwards between the stones. " Awii ! " cried the woman, " what have I got here, I wonder ? " and she held up the stone once more, and once more the lightning flashed back and forth, and thunder muttered between the stone in her hand and the rock below. " Ah," she said, " thunder and lightning, this needs looking into " ; and she put the stone away carefully, wrapped up in a pandanus leaf. Then she packed up her shellfish and set off home, and when she reached the village she gave the strange stone to her father, Teheraha, and told him to examine it. He took it from her, and placed it in a cave in the middle of a row of other holy stones and offered *ura'i*, i.e. money of dog's teeth and porpoise teeth and strung shells. He slept and dreamed. He dreamed the stone came to him and spoke with him, saying, " I am the bearer of news. My father, a serpent spirit, is coming hither. The people of Hunganaibwaru have driven him away from the place where he formerly dwelt. He will soon be here." He woke from his sleep and prepared a pig for burnt sacrifice. While he was doing so the people saw birds hovering in a flock round something far out at sea. They took a large canoe and paddled out, and as they paddled out the flock of birds drew nearer and nearer to meet them. Presently they saw a serpent floating in the water. They came close to it, and their canoe was made to rock violently. " What can you be ? " said the people, and they got its head into the canoe and so paddled ashore. When they landed the

[1] This information about Hatuibwari, the winged serpent, was obtained by F. H. Drew, at Tawatana, in 1914. The connexion with a stone and with thunder and lightning and his coming from the west are important. See Chapter XVIII.

people came running and said, " Put the whole of it into the canoe." They got it all into the canoe at last, and carried the canoe in triumph to the men's house and left it there that night. Next day they transferred it to a cave and then began offering their first-fruits to it. When they offer they take first some fruit of the *ahuto* tree, the tree with which fire is made by rubbing, and this they tie up in the mouth of the cave. If any of the fruit fall it is a sign that someone will fall that year in the nutting. Every year too they bring a small yam, but no nuts, for which the *ahuto* fruit is substituted, as that is also used for making fire. Prayers are made to the serpent by the people and their neighbours.

4. *Kagauraha.*—Kagauraha is a female serpent worshipped at Haununu. She and her numerous brood live in a house erected for them, at one end of which is an enclosure within which is a hole in which the serpent lives. On the walls of this house are native carvings of sharks, frigate birds, and the turtle with a bird's head which causes earthquakes. Only certain men can enter the house, all old men. They enter to sacrifice and to ask the will of the serpent about any matters of importance. When they go in they bend low with hands spread out before them. The serpent asks for what she wishes, sometimes a pig and sometimes a human sacrifice. If anyone is ill it is a sign that a pig is desired, and the person who is ill pays for it. A portion is given to the serpent and the rest is eaten by the worshippers. When a young coco-nut bears its first nut, the milk is drunk in the house in the presence of the serpent, after which men may eat and drink the nuts of the tree. When the first yams are dug some are sacrificed to the serpent, and other sacrifices are made when the gardens are planted. If they wish to know whether to go to war or not, the priest takes strips of dracaena leaves warmed over the fire and pulls them apart in the presence of the serpent. If the strands break they refrain from war. The breaking of one strand means the death of one man. A sign of anger is the swelling of the serpent. This takes place, for example, if a woman approaches, and was very marked when a missionary landed and asked for a school to be built there.

5. *Bonguru* " Pig-who-grunts."—This *figona*[1] lives in the forest. If a man walking in the forest hears near him what he supposes to be a pig grunting, and says to his companions," There's a pig, do you hear it grunting ? " then in a moment he is surrounded by snakes : snakes in front of him, snakes behind him, snakes on either hand, and snakes

[1] Some say *adaro.*

in the air above him. This is because the *figona* has an objection to being called a pig.

6. *Owaroi.*—There was a certain man named Oharimae who sacrificed to *figona*, and there was another man named Ohimae who was eaten up by these *figona*. He was throwing away the entrails of a pig, and the entrails changed into snakes and ate him up, and when they saw he was already dead, they carried him (*sic*) to a village called Funarafa and left him there. There was another *figona* named Owaroi, and all the *figona* went to another village called Pagoki, and when they reached the place they saw at the door of a house a very large dark green stone, and they carried it back with them to a place called Narafa to the man named Oharimae, who sacrificed to them.

7. *Faufonofono.*—There was a woman living at Paone in Ugi, and one day she went into the forest with her child. Towards evening she was returning when she saw a *figona*. She had sat down to rest on the path and took some cabbage out of her bag and put it on a stone which she had found and placed on the path. The stone thereupon changed into a snake which rose up fold on fold, taller and taller. The *figona* told the woman to go away, but she refused, and watched the snake gliding across the path, fold on fold, and there the woman sat from sunset to midnight, by which time it had crossed the path. The woman then returned home and her child died.

8. *Kapwaranaihira* and *Kapwirona.*—These two *figona* had a dispute as to which was the taller. Kapwaranaihira stood on her tail and rose up fold on fold, but failed to touch the sky. Said Kapwirona, "You are standing on a hill, and here am I at the bottom of a valley, and yet you can't reach the sky." Whereupon Kapwirona stood on her tail and rose fold on fold, reaching to the sky and down again to the earth and up again to the sky.

9. *Kafiomwapuru.*—Kafiomwapuru was a huge man-eating snake who lived underground. The entrance to his lands was a deep hole with steep sides, which was once covered up on top. Once upon a time there were two brothers who stole some yams from the gardens of the people of their village. They decided to plant these yams at the mouth of the hole, not knowing of its existence. So they took two yams and planted them as they had planned at the mouth of the hole by which one went to the home of the snake. One day the two boys went to see the yams they had planted and found them already grown up and ready to dig. They were surprised, but rejoiced and ran to get sticks for digging up their yams. But as they began to run the hole suddenly

Fig. 3. FISHING STANDS AND SPEARING FISH, HEURU

[face p. 90

opened its mouth and the boys fell down and down, down and down, past walls of rock, till they came to the land underground where the man-eating snake lived. The mouth of the hole meanwhile closed up again above their heads. The two boys walked on till they came to a town, but it was deserted and overgrown with grass, with young trees already half-grown, only they could see that once there had been a town there. Then they went on once more, and after a time they came to another town, which also was deserted, but the posts of many of the houses were still standing, and the grass and trees not yet grown up. When the two brothers saw the posts of the forsaken houses they became very sorrowful, thinking of their father and mother and friends. However, they went on till they came to a third town, and in this one not only were the posts of the houses still standing, but even the rafters, and nothing was decayed, for though the great snake had eaten all the people there, it had only done so a short time before. However, the two brothers went on till they came close to the home of the snake, and here they paused for fear of him, thinking he would be sure to eat them also. But the elder said to his younger brother, " Come on, don't let us be afraid of him," and they went on till they came to the snake himself, and the snake was asleep. But the smell of the two boys came into his nostrils, and it woke up and saw them standing near it. " What do you come here for ? " said the snake. " Our people deceived us," replied the boys, " by planting yams at the mouth of the hole, so that we might fall down it and be eaten by you." But the snake said, " I shall do you no harm, only you must work for me and plant my gardens." Then the two boys felt light-hearted and stayed and worked for the snake as he told them. They planted coco-nuts for him, and yam gardens and taro gardens. They worked very hard, especially at the taro gardens, doing all the snake bade them. After they had worked a whole year the snake gave his daughter in marriage to the elder. After they had worked five years for the snake in this manner, he said to them one day, " Do you still think of your friends and wish to see them again ? " " Yes, indeed," replied the boys, " but how are we to climb up again to our country above ? " However, the snake said that if they wished to go back they might do so, and they begged him to tell them how. " Well, I will tell you," said the snake, " but you must do exactly as I say," to which both the brothers agreed. " Gather together into a heap all the taro you have planted," said the snake, " and take five thousand roots from each garden." This they did, all three working very hard, till they had heaped together five thousand roots from each

garden, a very great pile. " What next ? " said the brothers. " Make a platform," replied the snake, " and put the taro roots on it." So they made a huge platform and piled the taro roots on it, and said to the snake, " What next ? " " Get up on top, the three of you, and all your pigs," said the snake. So they climbed up and sat on top, the three of them with all their pigs, and then called out to the snake, " Here we are on top and what is to be done next, the platform is too heavy to move." But the snake replied, " Never mind, sit down firmly, the three of you and your pigs." Then he came under the platform and put his head to it, and stood up on his tail, and lifted them up and up, higher and higher, till they came out above ground again. Then the snake returned to his home, and the brothers ran to theirs. But one of them went first to tell the news, and when he got to the village he said to the people, " Come, all of you and carry hither the taro my brother and I have brought back." So all the people of the place went to the platform and carried the taro, going backwards and forwards, but there was so much of it, that before they reached the last roots these had already grown rotten. Then the people all rejoiced at the return of the two brothers, and beat all the drums, and blew upon the conches and played all the pipes, and made a great feast for them, and invited the people of neighbouring villages, saying, " Come and rejoice and feast with us to the two who have come back alive again." So everybody came and the pigs were killed, and the taro and yams were cooked and they all feasted together ; and the two brothers related the story of their wanderings, until at length when the feasting was over the visitors returned to their homes. The snake Kafiomwapuru is not called *figona*, but merely " a snake " ; but it is difficult to see much difference between it and Faufonofono for example.

To sum up the matter, there seems to be one *figona* superior to the rest, called Agunua, to whom once not only all the island, but people farther off also, sacrificed and prayed. But there were many local *figona* incarnate in serpents, representing Agunua to the people of that particular place. These too had prayers and sacrifices made to them. Besides these, many a deep pool, large rock or tree, stream and waterfall, contained a *figona*. People would sacrifice to these if they passed near, and pray to them. At Valuwa in the Banks Islands there is a deep hole, Dr. Codrington writes, "into which no one dares to look; if the reflection of a man's face should fall upon the surface of the water he would die ; the Spirit would lay hold upon his life by means of it." So if a man approached the gorge of the Wairafa River in San Cristoval,

the *figona* there would take captive his soul. But these *figona* were not evil; it was the man's own fault, he had treated carelessly a sacred place. People fell ill too if the serpent *figona* were not satisfied with the sacrifices; but the *figona* were not feared like *adaro*. An ordinary snake was always killed when found in the gardens. All *figona* were spirits, never the ghosts of the dead;[1] they were not usually seen; they were connected with remarkable stones, and contained in them; their incarnation, when they took form, was a serpent.

10. To conclude, I give a story of a snake *figona* from Malaita. It was told by an old man named Walakalia of Langalanga, on the west coast, in sight of both Boromoli in Florida, and Marau Sound in Guadalcanar, as the story tells. This is the San Cristoval story of Kagauraha with considerable variation, and it is known in South Malaita and Ulawa. It is particularly interesting as showing the extension of the serpent cult to North Malaita and Florida, and as definitely connecting that cult with the *pirupiru*, the sacred grove. Wherever the snake landed there was a *pirupiru* afterwards. According to the story a *pirupiru* was founded in this manner at Marapa in Marau Sound, South Guadalcanar, and at Boromoli in Florida. In the story eight seems to be a charmed number. The serpent's name is "Eight fathoms". She comes to life after eight days' rain. She makes her house with eight leaves. She is cut into eight pieces. She is killed a second time, and the bones re-unite after eight showers of rain. She submerges a village with eight waves. This last connects her story with that of the hero Rapuanate, who went to Ulawa (newly fished up from the sea with a hook by the hero Mauua), and bought eight waves, with which he submerged Teonimanu (Hanua asi). I do not give the whole of the story. When old Walakalia had brought the serpent back from its wanderings in Florida he remarked, "We have now completed the trunk of the tale; here it divides into two long branches. We will follow one and when it is finished we can return to the other." Which he did. So, too, I have condensed the story of Rapuanate, which, say the natives, "takes one whole day to tell, beginning at sunrise and talking steadily till sunset." The following is "the trunk of the tale" of the *figona* serpent Walutahanga.

Her mother was a woman named Huapiaoru and her father's name was Porokalihidani. Her father and mother lived at a place

[1] But the soul finally became *figona* after bathing in the River of the Water of Life. See p. 235.

called Sihora near Langalanga on the west coast of Malaita. One day Huapiaoru conceived, and in due time her daughter was born, but it was a snake, and her mother was startled and afraid as she had only expected an ordinary child. There was no one else present, however, and the snake said, " Don't be afraid of me, mother, but take care of me and I shall do you nothing but good." So her mother took her and hid her under a pile of firewood by the wall. When the husband came home he said, " Well wife, where is the child ? " " It is dead," she said. After a time she conceived again, and bore a daughter. All this time her husband knew nothing about the snake which lay hid in the house. When he and his wife went to work in their garden she made him go first and she would remain and call out her snake daughter to take care of her little girl, the snake's sister. The snake coiled round her and made a cradle for her. Then the woman followed her husband to the garden and when he asked her, " What have you done, wife, with our little daughter ? " she would reply, " I left her with her grandmother." [1] So when they went home again after their day's work she would go first, and when she got near the door she would rap loudly on the flat roots of a large tree, and the snake daughter would slip away and hide. But after a time her husband noticed that she always went out last and came home first, and he felt sure she was concealing something, so when he went off down the path one day, he did not go far, but slipped back through the bush and hid near the door. Presently, his wife came out, shut the door, and went off to the garden. The husband stood listening, and presently in the house he heard the sound of singing, and it was the snake singing to her sister the following sleeping song :—

Ro ruru, ia ruro, osa ngarangara,
No kaa too a aeku ni ura hai inio,
No kaa too nimanimaku huni akololoio ;
Ro ruru ro, ia ruro.

That is to say :—

Ro ruru ro, ia ruro, don't cry,
I have no feet to stand with you,
I have no arms to embrace you,
Ro ruru ro, ia ruro.

The baby was just sinking into a soft sleep when the man came in and saw the coils of a snake round his daughter. " You are making my

[1] Really her sister.

child cry," he called out, and chopped up the snake into eight pieces with his axe, and threw the pieces outside. Presently, Huapiaoro came home to see what had become of her husband, and there before the doorway lay scattered the eight pieces of her snake daughter. Her mother sat down and began to cry, but the severed head said to her, " Don't cry, mother, I must go away, for my father doesn't like me, and wishes to kill me ; go and get me eight leaves of giant caladium " (a sacred leaf). Her mother went for the caladium leaves and the snake called to the sky that rain should rain upon the earth, and a great rain rained for eight days. On the eighth day the severed pieces of the snake reunited, and she lay by the stream which the rain had brought down, ready to depart on her travels, but as yet she had no canoe.

After a time a banyan came floating down upon the waters, and Walutahanga climbed on to it, but it was too short. " This is not my canoe," said she. Presently another tree, an *atare*, came floating by, and the snake climbed upon it, but it was too short. " This is not my canoe," said she. At last a third tree came down, a *mute*, and this was the right length. " This is my canoe," said she, and she floated away down the river and out to sea. First she went to Marapa, the ghost land (Marau Sound), and landed at Qaeralo. But when she had landed she looked back and saw her home. " I am still in sight of home," said she, " I must go farther." Where she landed there is a *pirupiru*, a sacred grove, to mark the spot. She went off again on the *mute* and this time she came to Boromoli close to Siota in Florida. Since that time there has been a *pirupiru* there, where she landed at Lumu. But she looked across the sea and saw her home. " I am still in sight of home," said she, " I must travel farther." So she set off again in her canoe and came to the farther side of Florida, where now there is a great cave up which a canoe may be paddled, but there was no cave there then. Here she encountered an octopus ; " Where are you going, evil long body and crooked tooth ? " said the octopus ; " don't come near my canoe-house." She made no answer. " If you come any nearer," said the octopus, " I shall kill you." " But I don't want to harm you or drive you away," said the snake, " I am a wanderer. I have no home." The octopus called out wicked words to her, and she became angry and rushed upon him. He backed suddenly in fear and broke a large rock behind him. She rushed at him again and he backed away from her, right into the cliff, breaking a passage into the solid rock, and that is why there is a cave there now. The snake followed him, till at last he squeezed into a cranny where she could not

see him, and she passed him, and went on, up into the island. She went into the bush and found a cave in which to live, and here she stayed. No one knew of her arrival, till one day a party went fishing on the reef and one of them felt hungry. The cave where Walutahanga was living was in his garden. He said to the others, " Wait here for me and I will go and get some bananas." Now the bananas grew just at the mouth of the cave. So he went, and one bunch was ripe, just at the cave's mouth, but as he put out his hand to pluck it, the snake seized him, pulled him into the cave and devoured him. His companions waited some time, but as he did not return they supposed he had gone back to the village, so another of them went to the garden to get the bananas, and he too was devoured in the same manner, and so was the third. Then the people said to one another, " Something must be the matter. Let two go together." So two of them went ; one stood a little way off and the other went to pluck the bananas. Out came the snake, seized him, and pulled him into the cave. His friend, who saw all that happened, returned to the others, and all of them hurried up to the village, where they and all the people armed themselves and set out for the cave to kill the intruder. But though they went out valiantly very few came home again, for the snake pulled them down one by one and devoured them in the cave. So they began to look about for a charm, and one of them remembered two famous man-eating dogs living at Langalanga in Malaita. Two of them took a canoe and paddled over to Langalanga. The owner of the dogs lived up in the bush, so they went to him, and there he sat at the door of his house with his two famous dogs, who barked with joy at the sight of men to eat, but were restrained by their owner. " What do you want ? " said he. " We have come here," they replied, " to hire these dogs to destroy a terrible man-eating snake which has come to live in our country." So he said, " Very well, you shall have the dogs, but go first into the garden to get some taro, and I will send the dogs to show you the way, and to-morrow you can go home." " All very fine," said they, " but the dogs will eat us." " No," said he, " I will tell them not to." So the dogs ran before and they followed them and dug taro in the garden and came back again and slept there one night. Next day they set off for home again, taking the two dogs, who had been told what was wanted of them, and were howling with delight at the thought of fighting the snake. When they got near the shore, the dogs smelt the snake and nothing could hold them back. They jumped out of the canoe into the sea, swam ashore, and rushed off into the bush, straight

to the cave. The younger said to the elder, " Do you go to the mouth of the cave and draw the snake out with your barking, and I will climb up above and jump down upon it when it comes out to seize you."

So they did. And when the snake heard the dog barking she came out, one fathom of her. But the dog called to his brother above, " Not yet, let her come out farther." So the snake came out farther, and when she had come out three fathoms, the dog above leapt down on her and bit her neck, and the other dog rushed in and helped, and the people who were all standing round with spears and axes rushed in also, and Walutahanga was cut to pieces, and stabbed in a hundred places till she was dead, eight pieces lying on the ground.

Then they divided the portions, and gave one to a woman and child, and this was the head of the snake. Each man made a fire, and cooked his portion and ate it, and the woman and child made a fire to cook the head. But the smoke blew into their faces, and they began to sniff, and the tears stood in their eyes with the smoke. " Ah," said the head to the woman, " you two pity me, you two alone out of all these people ; you shall not regret it ; you may cook me, but don't eat me." So the woman and child cooked the head but did not eat it. Then the rest said, " Each of us must bring the bones of the portion he has eaten, and when all have been collected on a day we will take them far out to sea and throw them into the water." So they did, but the head bones were absent. They asked the woman and child where they were, and they replied that they had cooked the head but had not eaten it ; so the people took it from them and ate it. Then they chose a day, and all launched their canoes and carried the bones far out to sea and threw them overboard into the sea, where they sank to the bottom out of sight, and all the people cheered lustily. But they might not have done so had they seen the bones re-uniting bone to bone at the bottom of the sea. Then came eight showers of rain, and at the eighth the snake was whole again, and stretched herself at the bottom of the sea with a noise like thunder. " What is that strange noise ? " said the people, and paddled home as fast as they could go. But still faster went the snake under the water, and as she went she made eight great waves, and the eighth overturned their canoes and drowned the people in them, and rolled over their village, destroying everything in it. Then Walutahanga bethought her of the woman and child, and went to seek them. She found them in the branches of a banyan, safe and sound. " Come down, friends," said she, and made to grow for them coco-nuts, yams, and taro, and made a stream to flow, and gave them

panied sacrifices. When, for example, a sacrifice of a pig was made to an *adaro*, the sacrificer would say, " This is your pig, given on account of my sickness for your eating, that I may recover my strength." But no special words were used, other words would do as well. And in the account of the sacrifice to the *adaro* Harumae, to be presently given, there occurs a *fagarafe*, " Harumae, chief in war, we sacrifice to you this pig, that you may help us to smite that place ; and whatsoever we shall carry away shall be your property, and we also will be yours." But another form might equally well be used. *Fagarafe* means, then, a request to a spirit or ghost for help, and is in no sense a charm. *Feirunga*, or *feiaru*, or *heiaru*, is the other word in common use, and this is a charm. It must consist of certain words handed down from father to son, or from some man to his friend, and it is evident that these charms have been handed down for some considerable time since they now contain archaic words no longer used in San Cristoval, though, perhaps, found elsewhere. For example, the word now used for lightning is some form of *fireia*, but in the charms *parapara* is used. In Mota in the Banks Islands *manu varavara* is an expression for lightning or thunder. Besides consisting of particular words a *feirunga* is almost always accompanied by particular acts, of which the chief is blowing upon something to impart *mena*,[1] or power, to it. The technical term for blowing upon the object is *memena*. *Mena* is probably a form of the widespread *mana*, and probably occurs in another form in San Cristoval as *manawa*, the breath, or to breathe ; *mana* or *mena* perhaps means originally the breath, and power is a secondary meaning owing to the fact that it is the breathing upon an object which imparts power. While a *feirunga* is generally addressed to an *adaro* or *figona*, it may also come to mean a mere charm or omen. Thus there is a story of a famous ogre named Watarokaoka, who set out one day to look for food, and coming to the bank of a fast-running stream, saw a woman planting taro on the other side. He wished to eat her, but the stream was too deep and swift, so he pronounced a *feirunga* :—

Sink and flow back from the path,
I shall cross over and eat her.

But the woman, without turning her head, immediately pronounced a counter spell—

Rain hither from the face of Hau.

And the stream still flowed as fiercely as ever, so that he could not cross.

[1] See p. 251.

A party going to war, *feirunga* first (*feiaru* or *mawaru* it is called at Marogu, where this was obtained). Each takes a dracaena leaf and says a *feirunga*, breathing upon the leaf, as follows :—

Dracaena firm stand, like the plume of the eagle;
Dracaena firm stand, like the plume of the frigate bird.

Then he folds up the leaf, partly bites it through, unfolds it, and holds it up, straightening it out. He then lets go the top. If the leaf stands up straight, he will go and fight, if it falls over he will refuse to go. Probably this was addressed to an *adaro*. If he decides to go to war, he will then sacrifice and pray to an *adaro*, *ramo*, an *adaro* of war, and then say a *feirunga* to it, so that the spears of the enemy may miss him. He takes lime, breathes upon it, smears a streak under his right eye, and pronounces the following words :—

Paint his face, all wagtails,
The spear aimed at me will miss ;
Paint his face, all fantails,
The spear aimed at me will glance off.

If a man has fever or a cough he goes to a stream, takes a dracaena leaf, breathes on lime and puts it in the leaf, stands in the water, and says a verse to a *figona*.

He then sprinkles the lime over his body.

There is a very long *feirunga* for rain, addressed to a *figona*, of which part may be given as an example of such charms. A man takes a dracaena leaf, breathes upon it, and holds it out towards the quarter of the sky from which he expects the rain, saying as follows (the language —Kufé—is that of Rafurafu) :—

My dracaena, let the great storm come,
A great storm, surf rushing both ways.
My dracaena, let the lightning flash,
Let the thunder sound on the far horizon,
Let the thunder sound on the near horizon,
Lightning speed hither, waters of Maramara,
Strike hard the source of the waters of Maramara :
Strike and tear out where the great rocks go deep,
Sweep down thence the great banyan,
Drag it to the far horizon,
Let it overshadow darkly the great sharks.

O red dracaena leaf, what is that ? a great storm,
Roaring and pressing down ;
Roaring and dragging out the trunk of the great Fata,[1]
Carrying down the landslip from the great river,
Carrying its trunk to great Mara.

These are only the opening words of the *feirunga*, which is a long and very fine description of a great storm on the coast.

There are *feirunga* to be said on all occasions. For example, a man wishes to drink in a pool where a *figona* or *adaro* may be present. He first takes a stone, breathes on it, says a special charm and throws it into the water.

After he has caught a fish and baked it on the embers of the fire, he says another *feirunga*.

The following *feirunga* would seem to put the user of it under the protection of *figona*, lest any *adaro* should harm him :—

I am eating the head of the snake ;
Adaro over yonder, let him not speak.
I am eating the head of the snake ;
Adaro over yonder, let him not see.

Naturally there are a great many charms connected with the management of a garden. There is a charm used when the place is chosen, another when it is marked out, another when some of the earth is cast hither and thither, another when the yams are planted, another at weeding, another when giving the yam a pull to make it grow, another when mourning over a garden which is not successful, another at training the yam up the stake, another at tying up the shoot, and so on. I give a selection of these from Tawatana in the Arosi district of San Cristoval. (This is the language of Bishop Patteson's vocabulary used by von der Gabelentz.)

In choosing a spot for a garden a Tawatana man goes into the bush with his axe, breathes upon the axe, and cuts through a sapling or creeper, calling on an *adaro* known to him, or on the *figona* of the place, to observe whether it is a suitable place for his garden. If the cut is a clean one the spot chosen is a good one, but if a bit of the sapling is left sticking up, someone will die. If several bits are sticking up, another spot is sought. If the spot chosen proves to be a good one, four stones are then put at the four corners, and these stones remain

[1] A large species of tree.

after they have been charmed, to keep off anyone who may come to spoil the garden. The following is the first *heiaru* used for the stones :—

I make a spell for the garden and for you, great Mata. Come, great Mata,[1] and my land will yield plenteously, come and sit by the side of the garden of us two. Look after it well, great Mata. Notice carefully anyone who spoils our garden. Should anyone come to spoil our garden, slay him, great Mata. Strike at his forehead, strike and crush it. Strike his shoulders and dislocate them. Should a man come without evil intent, let him go free. Should a man come to spoil our garden, kill him, but do not kill him heedlessly so that we have to give payment we can't afford, but thus (*ami*) carry him off so that he dies in his own house, and they will say a ghost has eaten him in his own house.

This charm is used for the first and third stones. Another to the " Little Mata " is used for the second and fourth stones, as follows :—

I make a spell for the garden and for you, little Mata ; I make a spell for the ground that my yams may live. Come, little Mata, come into my spell. Look after this my garden. Should anyone come to spoil my garden, thou wilt see him, little Mata. Come and strike the back of his head. Strike him on the point of his shoulder. Put it out of joint. Kill him, but do not strike him dead there (in the garden). Let our friends who have money give it for us. Do thou take him and strike him dead in his house away from here and they will say that a ghost has killed him there. I make a charm for the garden and for Little Mata ; I make a charm for the garden and for Great Mata.

After this a dracaena leaf is taken, and the action of sweeping the garden with this is performed from end to end, after which the leaf is thrown away in the bush. The following charm is used :—

I fan the garden towards the great water. I fan and clear away the poor soil, I fan and clear away the clayey soil. I fan and clear away the soil in which are scorpions. I fan them away into the source of the great water. I fan here soil that will bring forth plenteously : good soil for the seed yams, that on its coming my yams may be big. I fan the garden towards the source of the little water. I fan away all the bad earth, I fan it away to the source of the little water. I fan hither living soil, good soil for the yams. I fan the garden to the source of the little water, I fan the garden to the great water.

[1] Probably amarauthus (usually *mwata* or *wata*), but some natives think a serpent is meant (modern Arosi *mwaa*).

A yam is next planted in the garden and a charm said while breathing on the yam :—

I plant my big well-growing yam. I plant it in the corner of our garden. I plant it at the big stake in our garden. I plant my big well-growing yam, and it will bear plenteously in our garden. I plant you, but do not run to leaf only. I plant you, and do you climb up to the branch of the *hata* and hang down again into our garden. Thus will you see the beginning of our yam. You will see the top of our yam beginning to rise up. You will see it lifting itself above the ground in our garden. You will see the yam springing high up in our garden. The chief men will come along the path, they will come and covet our yam. And all the village will be astonished at it. And they will take them into the village, and I will take down a big food bowl. Then will the wives of the chiefs gather together in the village. And they will peel one of our yams. Then will a poor maiden go and stand at the door of the big men's-house and call out with laughter. Cut off a large piece and cut it up in pieces. Then you can lift it on one side on to the split coco-nut leaf. Do not take rattan to lift it whole, lest it should fall and break like a big food bowl. Take only a large piece.

This long charm is pronounced by the man alone in the garden ; others come afterwards to help him to plant. It is said over four yams, one of which is planted at each of the four corners of the garden.

Later, when the yams begin to sprout, the shoots are twined round stakes driven into the ground beside each mound. The following charm is used when staking the yams. The man takes his axe, breathes upon it, and cuts his stakes, four in number. If the man to whom the garden belongs does not know a charm, he seeks a man who does, and sacrifices to this man's *adaro*. The man who has dealings with the *adaro* eats the sacrifice, and then says the charm for his friend's garden :

I take up my big broad stone axe. I chop the butt of a green *to* tree. I lift up the vine of my *mananga* yam. I twine it round the stake as big as a *hata* tree. Do thou climb up to the branches of the *hata* stake. Climb up, but do not make much leaf, without tuber ; do not spread like the creeping vine of the *dahihi*, spread and make the tuber of our yam. Spread and break down the growing stake in our garden. They will embark at the point of Great Mwara (Malaita), they will point hither at the spreading vines of our yams. They say that it is like the mountain Asi rii raha. I take up my small broad stone axe. I chop the butt of a living *to* tree. I lift up the vine of my yam. I twine it round the big *rigi* stake. Do thou climb up to the

branches of the *rigi* stake. Climb up, but do not deceive with thy spreading vines. Spread as should a yam, not deceitfully like the creeping vine of the *dahihi*. They will embark at the point of Little Mwara, they point at the spreading vines of my yam, they say that it is like the mountain Asi rii. I lift up the vine of my yam. I lift up the green vine of my yam.

When the time for weeding arrives, another charm is said, breathing on the first weed as one pulls it out :—

I weed for the first time. I weed up to the path. The new moon appears and gets high in the sky, and the yams are already big. I weed up to the boundary logs. The moon sinks down, and the garden is already covered with vines, it sinks down and disappears, and the yam already has sunk down in the ground. I weed up to the boundary logs, I weed up to the path.

To make the ground fruitful, four handfuls of earth are taken up and cast forth over the ground, the man who does so first breathing on the earth. The following is the charm :—

I sprinkle in all directions, like the breaking surf at Bwararii, that there be no space left in my garden. I sprinkle in all directions, like the breaking surf in Mwara, that there be no way through my garden.

To increase the size of the yam, some leaves or grass are held in the hand, and breathed upon. This handful of grass is then held over the top of the growing yam, while the following charm is pronounced :—

I weed the springing child, may the top of my yam spring up, may its base push downwards. I weed the jumping child. May the top of my yam jump up, may its base go down. Weed the jumping child, weed the springing child.

If the yam is backward, the man breathes upon his hands, gives the yam a pull, calls aloud, and says the following charm :—

I pull the yam, jutting up, that my yam may spring up like a shark. I pull the yam from side to side that my yam may spring up like a porpoise. I pull the twisting yam, I pull the jutting yam.

When the yam fails to come up a charm is used, called a charm "*ini angisia i mou*", that is, for lamenting over a garden. The man breathes three times on the soles of his feet, and walks through his garden over the bare places, where he wishes the yams to spring up, saying the following words :—

Sprout at the side yam, come, sprout and live, sprout at the side prickly yam, come sprout with vigour. Come, shoot up with vigour, come shoot up and live.

If a vine falls from its stake, the man picks it up and puts it on another, where it shall cling like a snake or bat. The following words are used :—

Twine yellow snake, hang flying fox, stretch out flying fox, twine yellow snake, stretch out yellow snake, hang flying fox.

When he ties up the vine, he says :—

I tie up the shoot, I tie it close to the bamboo, I tie up the head shoots, I tie it close to the *mumu*.

While saying this, he breathes on dracaena leaves and then tears them to pieces.

It will be noticed that in these charms, of which there are very many, we have the germs at least of true poetry. Many of them in fact are poems, rich in simile, with a rude rhythm, and showing considerable command of language. The set of garden charms from Tawatana given above, contain several words, such as *mara* "like", which are not ordinarily used in that part of San Cristoval (where " like " is *ona*), but which are the common words in use in other parts.

CHAPTER VIII

SPIRITUAL BEINGS

Adaro Ghosts

ADARO or *ataro* is the name given by the natives of San Cristoval to beings, other than *figona*, whom they worship. In some parts (for example ten miles inland from Pamua) the soul is called *adaro mauri*, i.e. living *adaro*, while still in the body, and *adaro* merely, after death. Elsewhere, as at Wango, there are two separate words for soul, *aunga*, and *adaro*. One great class of *adaro* consists therefore of ghosts, and it is these chiefly that are worshipped. There is, however, a second class of *adaro*, perhaps not as numerous as the former—spirits of the sea, woods, and shore, and others found in the rainbow and the waterspout. These are not ghosts, in native opinion, whatever their origin may have been.

The same word is found in the form *akalo* at Ulawa and in Mala, and the same distinction holds. Some *akalo* are ghosts and some are spirits. Farther west the Florida word *tidalo* is thought to be another form of *adaro*, but apparently *tidalo* never means anything but a ghost.[1] To the south-east the word is believed to reappear in the Banks, where *tataro* is used for prayer, but is properly the name for beings addressed in prayer, each prayer beginning with this name. The word may have an even wider extension if the Samoan *talo*, a prayer, the Tahitian *tarotaro*, the invocation preparatory to prayer (Ellis, vol. ii, p. 209), the Hawaian *kalokalo* prayer, and Gilbert Islands *tataro*, are really the same word, the use in the Banks Islands connecting the two meanings of ghost or spirit and prayer.

Natives of San Cristoval firmly believe in the continued existence of the soul after death. Death is merely a migration. The soul may pass into an animal, or may be born again in a descendant, or may merely exist without any incarnation. A ghost may also possess a living man, or as many as one hundred ghosts may do so. A soul may

[1] Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 127: "Every *tidalo* was once a man." But this I believe is not the case, and the same double meaning holds good for the Florida *tidalo*.

also be held captive in some sacred place, the outward sign being the decay of the body. The soul goes out in dreams and in unconsciousness. Death affects the body but not the soul. *Mae*, death, is the going out of the soul from the body, so that a person who is unconscious is said to be *mae*, dead. A person may be very ill, there may be obviously no hope of his recovery, but he is still not *mae* till he becomes unconscious.

After death a great many ghosts become incarnate in animals. It may be wondered in what way natives determine the particular animal into which the *adaro* of a dead relative has entered. It depends partly on where the man is buried. It is a common practice to bury in the sea both chiefs and common people, and their *adaro* then become incarnate in fish, especially in sharks. But even if a man is buried on shore his *adaro* may enter a shark. After his death his skull and other relics may be put into a wooden figure of a shark, which is then securely sealed with canoe gum and allowed to float in the sea. Watch is kept, and the first thing seen to approach it is the future incarnation of the *adaro*. Usually a shark, it may also be an octopus, a skate, a turtle, or a crocodile. But all *adaro* have not a sea incarnation. When a man or woman grows old, natives watch to see whether any animal persistently associates itself with them. This is often a bird. The bird comes to the house and perches on the old man's shoulder. It must be a young bird. It is fed and treated respectfully as the future home of the man's soul. When he dies his soul is known to be in the bird. His children will not eat any bird of that sort. This taboo seems only to last for a generation. There is a man now living at Raumae whose father's *adaro* went into a hawk, *tehe*. This man cannot kill any hawks or eat them, though other people do so quite freely. Birds into which the *adaro* goes are the hawk, the *afitaronga*, another kind of hawk, the *aususuwai*, a kingfisher, and the *waifirufiru*, a small black and white bird. Or again, the *adaro* may go into a stone or a tree. This is known by dreams after a man's death. If in the dream the *adaro* of the man is seen at a stone, or by a tree, that is known to be its incarnation. Thus there is an *adaro* in a *topaga* tree near Rafurafu. The man's children will not cut down this tree, or any other *topaga* tree. Sacrifices are made there to the *adaro*. Dr. Codrington mentions the case of a man at Ulawa whose soul entered the banana, so that bananas became taboo. A man will say, I cannot eat such and such a fish or bird because it is my father or my mother. Such beliefs of connexion with animals should be compared with the Banks Islands belief in a *tamaniu*,

but the association with the *tamaniu* begins at the time of birth, while in these San Cristoval examples it begins at the time of death. Obviously totems might originate in this manner. The natives have other opinions as to the origin of totems and clans among them ; the Adaro clan, for example, is thought to have originated in the actual resurrection to life of a dead woman and her child, from whom the clan has sprung. But after all, these native stories to explain the clans are simply the theories of the native anthropological society as to the origin of totemism. They are exceedingly interesting, and some of them may be true. The following are native explanations of the origin of San Cristoval clans :—

The Kafiko or Owl clan of Bauro began in this manner : A child was crying for her mother, but her mother did not come quickly, so the child ran off by herself into the bush. Her mother followed her, but the child climbed a tree to escape her. The mother climbed after her, but the child climbed higher, crying as she climbed, and finally changed into an owl. She was the mother of the Owl clan, and their forbidden food is an owl.

A woman and her child died and were buried. One day the child rose from the grave and came into the village and played with the children till sunset. Then she went back to the grave. The other children wondered where she had gone, and next day the same thing happened. At sunset the strange child went back to her grave. The children began to talk to their elders, and these determined to set a watch. On the third day, as the child was about to descend into the grave, the watcher seized her. " Leave me alone," cries the child, " I must go to my mother, she is waiting for me below." " You are not telling the truth," says the watcher, " if your mother is indeed waiting for you below, call her up." The child did so, and the mother rose from the grave. The two then returned into the village, and the child became the mother of the clan called Adaro in Arosi and Bauro.

When the souls of the dead dwell in animals, the animals are endowed with human understanding, and may aid the living. In some cases a snake of this sort was sent to kill a man. It should be observed that this snake did not attempt to bite the victim, but merely went to the man's house and lay coiled in some corner. The man would fall sick and die. A man who buried treasure in the ground would send a familiar snake to guard it ; the snake would lie coiled round the stone where the treasure was. Some, however, consider that these snakes were *figona*.

Undoubtedly the chief incarnation assumed by *adaro* was the body of a shark. All sharks are not sacred, but a great many are thought to be possessed by ghosts. At Ulawa there were two familiar sharks who were widely known and respected: Sautahimatawa (mentioned by Dr. Codrington) and Huaahu. Huaahu has been slain, but his rival is still said to exist. These ghost sharks did not harm their worshippers, but were often sent by them to kill men at a distance. Familiar sharks were sent from Ulawa to Ugi and San Cristoval, forty miles, to kill an enemy. The following account of the proceedings in such cases comes from Ulawa, but it applies equally well to San Cristoval. At the village where Huaahu was venerated, if it were decided to send a shark on such an errand Huaahu was called by the priest, and told to go for his servants. Presently he returned with the other ghost sharks, who would then fall in, their noses in a straight line. The next thing was to select one of them for the job, and this ghost shark was given some of the earth on which the victim's spittle had fallen or some of the earth from his footprints in the sand. The ghost shark named then went off accompanied by a ghost skate, his helper. They would come upon the man in his canoe. The skate struck the canoe with its tail and overturned it, and then the shark swallowed the man struggling in the water, or rather held him in its mouth, the man's legs sticking out, and set off for home. Arriving at the little bay, the shark threw the man out on the sand, not dead but weak and crying. He was then strangled and thrown back dead to be eaten.

The end of Huaahu was a melancholy one. He was missed one day and diligent inquiries were made. The people heard that a very large shark had been killed in another village. They went to this village, but nothing remained except the head. They inquired of the head, " Are you Huaahu ? " and the head stood up to signify that it was. His people thereupon destroyed the gardens and canoes of the offending village.

One of the sharks known throughout these islands was partly human. The head was that of a shark, but part of the body and the legs were those of a man. Here, as sometimes in San Cristoval, the sacrificial stone was a large block of red jasper. The priest was said to be able to make this stone float in the water, and it certainly was very sacred, for if a man's shadow fell upon it, he would waste away. When the ghost shark Wairowo was killed by the people of Mwanihuki, the sacred tree in the *pirupiru* at Kaunasuku, where his home was, broke in two of its own accord.

Sometimes there were fights between these ghost creatures. Some while ago the people of Ulawa heard by means of a ghost shark that a famous and terrible *adaro* of Mwala was on its way to Ulawa. It was in the form of a monstrous snake. Word was quickly sent round Ulawa, and all the ghost-sharks and ghost-octopuses assembled for the defence of home and children. At length the great snake *adaro* was seen coming across the sea from Mwala. The octopuses went out in the centre with sharks on each side of them. The octopuses then squirted out great volumes of ink, darkening the sea all round and half blinding the snake. The sharks attacked it on the flanks, biting it to pieces. The fight was long and fierce, but victory rested with the assembled *adaro* of Ulawa, and the tooth of the huge ghost-snake now adorns an Ulawa canoe-house.

CHAPTER IX

SACRIFICES AND SHRINES

SACRIFICES were made in San Cristoval to ghosts and to spirits, to *figona* spirits and also to *adaro* spirits.

A sacrifice to a ghost is described by a native of San Cristoval. This ghost (Harumae) is still known along the north-east coast, but the account of the sacrifice of a pig to him seems to have been given by a Wango native. The sacrifice was made when the people were proposing to go to war. The men assemble. Then " the chief sacrificer goes and takes a pig, and if it be not a barrow pig they would not sacrifice it to that ghost ; he would reject it and not eat of it. The pig is killed (it is strangled), not by the chief sacrificer but by those whom he chooses to assist, near the sacred place. Then they cut it up ; they take great care of the blood lest it should fall upon the ground ; they bring a bowl and set the pig in it, and when they cut it up the blood runs down into it. When the cutting up is finished, the chief sacrificer takes a bit of flesh from the pig and he takes a coco-nut shell and dips up some of the blood. Then he takes the blood and the bit of flesh and enters into the house (the shrine) and calls that ghost and says, ' Harumae ! Chief in war ! we sacrifice to you with this pig, that you may help us to smite that place ; and whatsoever we shall carry away shall be your property, and we also will be yours.' Then he burns the bit of flesh in a fire upon a stone, and pours down the blood upon the fire. Then the fire blazes greatly upwards to the roof, and the house is full of the smell of pig, a sign that the ghost has heard. But when the sacrificer went in he did not go boldly, but with awe ; and this is the sign of it ; as he goes into the holy house, he puts away his bag and washes his hands thoroughly, to show that the ghost shall not reject him with disgust ; just as when you go into the really Holy House you take off your hat from your head, a sign that you reverence the true Spirit ".[1]

The pig was afterwards eaten. Things sacrificed in the shrine (*hare ni asi*) are called *raherahe*, while those sacrificed in the grove

[1] Codrington, *The Melanesians*.

(*pirupiru*) are called *ura'i*, at Wango ; where the word for sacrifice is *ho'asi*, elsewhere *fogasi* or *pogase*. Besides a pig, there was sometimes human sacrifice, expecially to *figona* spirits ; but the commonest sacrifice is a pudding made of grated yam or of almonds ; this also is burnt, and part of it consumed by the worshippers. Other things sacrificed are areca nut, a drinking coco-nut, and various kinds of native money, shell money, dog's tooth money, or fish tooth money. Fish also are sacrificed, especially to spirits of the sea. The first flying fish caught with a new float, or in a new net, are sacrificed.

Besides the annual sacrifice to Agunua or other *figona*, at the harvest, and also to *adaro* at the same time, there are sacrifices on all special occasions, both public and private, as when the village goes to war or when a man plants his garden. The following account of sacrifices was written for us by Maekasia, a native of Fagani :—

" We used formerly to attend to sacrifices. They did not sacrifice only in the shrine (*rima ni asi*) ; on the contrary our fathers sacrificed everywhere—in the sea, at the grove, on rocks, and in the village. Sacrifices in the sea were made, first to the spirits of the open sea (*Adaro ni matawa*) and secondly to men who died and were buried in the sea. They sacrificed fish, and puddings when the yams were full grown, and almonds. The fish and puddings were sacrificed to spirits of the sea because spirits of the sea are in the habit of eating fish, and coming to the shore they ate puddings and found them sweet in their mouths, and so they came to have a great partiality for eating puddings with fish, and so they sacrificed puddings and fish to them (my friends ! how these spirits can eat !). Yams and almonds were sacrificed to men who died and were buried in the sea. For example, if one of you two, Drew or Fox, were to die, and he was buried in the sea at Tawapuna (a sacred place near Pamua), next year perhaps the survivor would be thinking of his friend who died, and he would get yam and almonds and take them to the place where the body was let down into the water, and he would throw them into the sea there with some such words as these : ' My friend (or my brother, or my uncle), this is my sacrifice to you, so that you may protect me this year when I dig my garden and look kindly on the produce of the garden.'

" At the rock in the sea sacred to sharks they sacrificed to sharks and to men who died and were buried there. At the shrine of the village they sacrificed to sharks, spirits of the sea and the dead, and in the village also they sacrificed to the spirits of the land, and to snakes and to those who died and were buried anywhere in the ground or in

caves. So a living man would sacrifice to his dead friends, hanging up yams, almonds (fresh nuts), strings of shell money, dog's tooth money, fish tooth money, and bat's tooth money."

Yams and nuts are hung up in the garden and in the house. After a time some of these are burnt, but merely to hang them up is to sacrifice. A green drinking coco-nut is put in the sacred place and afterwards removed and drunk. Private sacrifices are made when there is sickness, or when a man goes on a journey, plants a garden, or goes fishing or hunting. In the case of war, those who worship special ghosts will sacrifice to them first, and afterwards join the rest in a common sacrifice to some famous ghost like Harumae. People going fishing or on a voyage sacrifice first to the spirits of the sea (*adaro matawa*) and the people going hunting to wood spirits (*adaro hasimou*), ghosts (*adaro*), and spirits (*figona*).

As Maekasia remarks, sacrifices are made in many places, in the shrine of the village, in the sacred grove, in the canoe-house, in the guest-house, at rocks in the sea or on the land, by pools, under trees, and in the people's own houses.

In each house relics of the dead are preserved, the skull, or jaw-bone, a tooth, or hair. These are placed in a coco-nut leaf basket, and hung up at the top of the main post of the house. Sacrifices are burnt below and the smoke and savour of the burnt sacrifices ascends and is pleasing to the ghost. These ghosts are probably lately deceased members of the household, a beloved wife or child.

The ordinary place of sacrifice is the village shrine called *hare ni asi* or *ruma* [1] *ni asi*. This is a small house about six feet square or less, only entered by the priest. In this is probably a small platform on which are five or six skulls or other relics of great men, underneath which sacrifices are burnt ; or a bamboo may be stuck into the ground with the upper end split so as to form a conical basket in which the relics are placed. Here, too, are probably found some memorial stones of people of whom no relics have been preserved. The name given to this shrine is a curious one, *rima*, or *ruma ni asi*, i.e. sea-house, and in Bauro *hare ni asi*. At Bauro the ordinary word for house is *rima*, only the shrine is *hare* (the Florida *vale* house, the Polynesian *fare* or *fale*). *Hahare*, however, is a shed, and probably the usage is like that mentioned by the Rev. C. Bice in Oba, New Hebrides, where *ima* is an ordinary house and *vale* a shed for storing things in. But the expression *ni asi*,

[1] Also *rima ni asi*.

belonging to the sea, is a strange one, for the same name is given to it in the bush. An old native was asked why the bush people called their shrine the sea-house. He replied that in an ordinary village there were two houses where sacrifices were offered—the one called *tawao*, where spirits of the land and souls of those buried in the bush were worshipped and sacrificed to, and the other called *hare ni asi*, where the spirits of the sea and ghosts of those buried at sea received worship and sacrifices. The bushmen, he said, worshipped the spirits of the sea as well as of the land. Possibly the invading people, who brought in the *adaro* cult, introduced also the name for the shrine, along with the worship of sea spirits (*adaro matawa*), sharks and ghosts.

The *tawao* mentioned above is an ordinary native house used as a guest-house and reserved for men only. There are no relics in it and no priest connected with it, but it is usual to offer sacrifices on a pile of stones at the foot of the main post ; though at Wango the people say this was not done, and the *tawano* was there merely a guest house.

The *pirupiru* is a name given apparently to two different places. The spot outside the village where one or several sacred trees grew is called *pirupiru*. These trees are banked round with flat stones or enclosed in a stone fence. The usual tree is a small coco-nut with yellowish leaves called *niu maho* (the forbidden food of the Atawa clan in some places, though not in others) ; other trees common are the *pirupiru* itself (Mota *pirupiru*), the *sagirima* and the *taro*. Besides these trees, it is usual to find dracaenas and crotons planted about them. Within the enclosure skulls are buried. On the stones sacrifices are offered both to *figona* and *adaro*. Anyone may come here at any time and sacrifice privately. This is the scene of the Agunua worship. At Raumae in the interior a similar spot is called not *Pirupiru* but *Aritengari*, i.e. the *arite*, a tree (*Catappa terminalis*) and the *ngari* or almond. This fact, and the name *pirupiru*, apparently from the tree *pirupiru*, seem to point to " sacred tree or grove " as the original meaning of *pirupiru*.[1] There is, however, a different place called *pirupiru*, the rock on the reef, where a shark comes, and where sharks are worshipped, and now at any rate most natives would think of shark worship when *pirupiru* is mentioned.

Besides these were the canoe-house (*oha* in Wango) where relics were preserved in wooden images, usually of swordfish, sometimes of sharks, and sacrifices were offered, where young men and those engaged in bonito fishing lived secluded for months at a time.

[1] In Arosi *pirupiru* is always the shark rock.

In the bush are many rocks connected either with *figona* or *adaro*, where a man offered a sacrifice of pudding. The natives are confused as to whether *adaro* or *figona* haunted these places. There is one near *Rafurafu* which contains a cave. This is haunted at times by a small dark long-haired *adaro*, a spirit, not a ghost. His presence is recognized by the fact that when he is at home the rock sweats blood, which oozes out in great red drops. Whether the *adaro* is there or not a man passing will offer a sacrifice, probably a little betel nut.

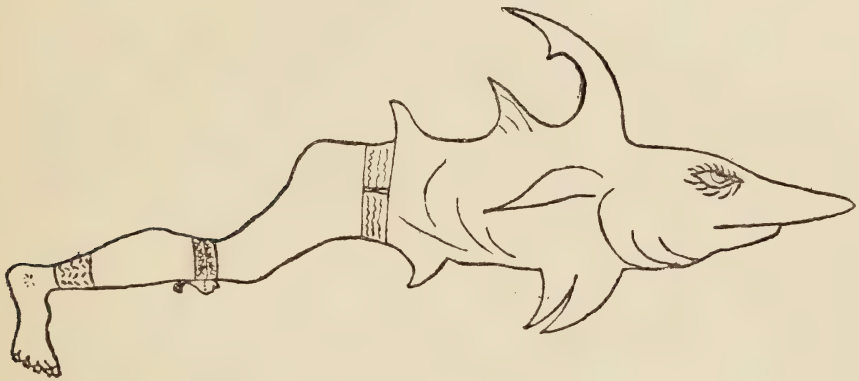
Sacrifices are also offered in the houses built for sacred snakes, and in the sea as mentioned above.

Not anyone may sacrifice in the *hare ni asi* or at the shark *pirupiru* or to the snakes. Only the priest may do so and his office is hereditary, passing from father to son, either real or adopted or bought. The priest, of course, is a man of influence. He becomes possessed, and tells the people the wishes of the ghosts. He tries by omens in the *hare ni asi* the will of the ghosts as to peace and war, heating dracaena strands and pulling them apart to see whether they break. Priesthood may be bought, at least in the shark worship. The following account of such a purchase as told by Maekasia of Fagani is interesting :—

" Perhaps at first there was only one *pirupiru* in the land and only one priest who had ghostly knowledge, the first of all priests of sharks. And he did his work regularly at the spot called *Pirupiru*, offering money, and dog's teeth, and the proper sacrifices. Other people had no power to do so, and there were no places where they could go. But then, if a man wished to become the friend of a shark and worship him, such a man could not say, ' I am a shark man,' but he must send for the original shark man and he would make him a shark (by hunching up his right arm in imitation of a shark swimming and touching him with it), and then he could perform the sacrifices with success ; then the man who made him a shark by touching him would appoint him some place on the beach, where there was a rock where he might sacrifice to sharks. Thus, perhaps, many became the friends of sharks, and *pirupiru* were multiplied along the shore."

The following story is told of two persons called Karifia and Hagasuimae : " Karifia was a man of this place Fagani, Hagasuimae came from a place called Rara asi, in Bwauro. Karifia was a shark man with great ghostly power, very busy with his friends the sharks. Hagasuimae was quite a small boy, very beautiful to look upon. He was going through what we call *maraufu*, a period of seclusion for bonito fishing, and could not leave the canoe-house, where he fasted.

His father and mother begged him to eat a little of the food which they had prepared for him, but he refused to eat anything, and sat quietly thinking to himself, ' I want to change into a shark, but how is it to be done ? ' His whole longing was to be with the sharks, and he cared nothing for food, but ate only coco-nuts : all other food he cast aside and lived on coco-nuts only. So he continued till he became ill with hunger, and as he lay ill on his mat, he said, ' Let someone go to Fagani and fetch Karifia to touch me for a shark, so that I may have ghostly power.' So Karifia went to Bwauro and touched Hagasuimae and said the proper words to turn him into a shark, and so the boy died and became a shark. It was Karifia who laid his hand on him, so Karifia chose out a spot on the beach where he should be worshipped, a place we call a *pirupiru,* and the people there continued to worship Hagasuimae till they began to go to school."



KAREIMANUA.

(Drawn by Maekasia, a native of Fagani, San Cristoval.)

Men like Karifia could send their souls into sharks, while their bodies remained in a trance. In this way they could hear news of absent people and learn of their doings. I give above a drawing by Maekasia of the ghost shark Kareimanua,[1] known by the same name in Malaita, Ulawa, and San Cristoval.

Possession by *adaro* is common. The priest who has charge of the village shrine becomes possessed in the ordinary course of business in order that he may know the will of the ghosts. He may become possessed in the *hare ni asi* or elsewhere. But other men too become possessed. A party on the war-path will wait while one of their number becomes possessed to learn the issue of their expedition. A possessed

[1] See pp. 74, 75, 189, 232.

man sees into the future, forewarns of coming events, gives news of the absent, decides who should lead the war party, whether they should allow a school in the village, and so on. A party in a canoe wishing to know whether it is wise to go on wait while one of them becomes possessed. The canoe rocks violently from side to side when the *adaro* comes into the man. If it happens in a house, spears and clubs are first piled against the middle posts; these rattle and are violently agitated when the ghosts arrive and possess the man. No one is standing near them.

An *adaro* which possesses a man is called a *hane adaro*—i.e. a climbing ghost, one which climbs upon a man.

A man may send his soul into other animals besides sharks. His body remains in a trance, while his soul passes for a time into a hawk (*hada*) or opossum (*huto*).

At Bore, in the Bush, there is an *adaro* which is seen in the form of a dog. It appears as a different dog on different days. Some days it is a white dog, on others a black one; it may appear as a native dog or a foreign one.

An *adaro* lives in an opossum near Waitaa River. The opossum is called *Huto Kapo*; another name for it is *Aranga Mae*. If a man sees it, he will die.

Tales of Adaro Ghosts

An *adaro* named Wowotagai, probably a ghost, lives at the source of the Aupare River, near Marogu, on the west coast. The bush people offer sacrifices to him. One night this *adaro* went to a village called Funauri. There he found a woman and child alone in a house. He tried to enter, but they barred the door against him. Wowotagai then climbed on to the roof, broke through the thatch, and killed both of them, and when the woman's husband returned he found his wife and child dead, the *adaro* eating them. The man rushed at him, but he climbed up through the broken thatch on to the roof. The man ran outside and waited there for him. Down jumped the ghost and the man chased him. The *adaro* ran right through the trunk of a big *rigi* tree, and the man went through after him. The *adaro* then ran along the path leading to Funariwo, came to the Aupare River, and dived in. The man followed. Both came out on the opposite bank, and the chase grew hotter than ever. The *adaro* came again to the Aupare and dived in, the man close behind. In the water the man seized the *adaro*, who cried out, " Don't kill me, or your wife and child will die for good and

Fig. 4. SAN CRISTOVAL CANOE

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all." They clambered out on to the bank, the man holding the *adaro* and saying, " Now this very day you shall die." " Don't do me any harm," replied the *adaro*, " but go and look for a *rata*," a bamboo used for drawing water. " But," said the man, " if I go and look for a *rata*, that is the last I shall see of you." " No, indeed," replied the *adaro*, " I will wait here for you." So the man went to a clump of bamboos and chopped off one for a *rata* ; and that stump may still be seen, it has not died nor decayed. Then the man took the bamboo to the *adaro*, who charmed it and vanished. The man drew water from the river in the charmed bamboo and washed the corpses of his wife and child, who revived and lived. The bamboo he threw into the Aupare, and it floated away upon the stream. Sometimes you may hear the voice of Wowotagai, but no man has seen him again from that time.

A somewhat similar incident happened at Bore, on the same coast. An *adaro* found and killed a woman and child, and was proceeding to devour them when the husband appeared. He chased the *adaro*, and succeeded in catching it by its long hair, just as it was going down a hole into the ground. He tied it by its hair to a tree and was proceeding to beat it, when it cried out, " Don't beat me, go and get some water in a bamboo." The man did so, the *adaro* charmed the water, sprinkled the corpses with it, and the dead woman and child came to life again. The man then released the *adaro*.

In the following two stories, told by natives of Bauro, the dead also come to life again. Waipuamaremare had in reality died and been living with the dead. Part of his story is not unlike that of Kamajaku, recorded by Dr. Codrington.[1]

Taraematawa.—Taraematawa was going through *maraufu* seclusion in the canoe-house by the shore at the time of bonito fishing. They were secluded there for three months, ten of them, living apart from all women. One day they went fishing for *waiau* (bonito), and Taraematawa went off by himself. A sudden great storm came up on the sea ; the canoe was swamped and Taraematawa was drowned, and his body washed up on a sandy shore far from his home, where it was soon buried from sight by the sand. There was nothing to show where he lay except the string of shell money he had worn round his neck, which lay above, half hidden in the sand. But now there came down to the shore two beautiful girls. They walked along by the edge of the waves, and one of them saw the shell money. They dug and found his body, and laid it

[1] *The Melanesians*, p. 365.

on the sand, bewailing the death of such a fine young man. After a time they went back to their village and told the priest. The old man gave them two dracaena leaves, on which he breathed, saying a charm. " One of these," said he, " will restore to life and one will kill." The two girls returned with the dracaena leaves to the corpse on the sand, and first tried the leaf which killed. This had no effect on the dead man. They then touched him with the other leaf. He opened one eye. They struck him with it. He lifted an arm. They did so again. He lifted a leg. They did so once more, and he stood up on his feet, a living man. The girls had their dog with them, so they said to the stranger, " See if you can race the dog to that tree." He tried to, but there was no strength in his limbs, and the dog won. They struck him again with the dracaena leaf, and this time he got first to the tree. Then the girls gave him a green coco-nut to drink from, but he was sick. They used the dracaena leaf again, and he drank. So it was with the eating of yams and taro. At first he could not eat without being sick, but with the help of the charmed dracaena leaf he became sound and whole. Then they took him up to their garden and sat talking, loth to leave him. At last he said, " Have you no house work to do ? " " Yes," they replied, " we must go back to the village, but we will meet you again here." They went home, and he took his way to the canoe house, where the men of the place were secluded for bonito fishing, but there was no one there but one lame boy, all the rest being away fishing. So Taraematawa said to the lame boy, " Let us take this canoe and go after bonito." But the lame boy replied, " That canoe is forbidden." However, he persuaded him, and they went. When they had put to sea, Taraematawa asked for a hook, but the boy had none, so Taraematawa took out a dog's tooth and pretended to fish with that, to the amusement of his companion. Fishing with two rods, one in each hand, Taraematawa caught two fine bonito, and they returned to the canoe-house. He told the lame boy to climb for coco-nuts, and gave him a piece of soft wood to husk them with, so as to keep him employed for some time, and then he went off to see his friends in their garden. When the fishers came back empty-handed they stared in surprise at the two bonito, but the lame boy took all the credit for catching them. " There were plenty close in to the shore," said he ; " you went too far out." They looked doubtful, but after a time went out again in their canoes. Taraematawa appeared again when they had gone, and he and the lame boy went out as before, this time taking the chief's canoe, and Taraematawa caught four bonito, which they put in the canoe-house.

The same thing happened as before, but this time the fishers could not believe the lame boy, and unknown to him they left a watcher on shore when they went, and the watcher saw Taraematawa go out with the lame boy and catch five fine bonito. Taraematawa, on his return from the garden, disclosed himself to them, and the next day was the great feast in the village to mark the conclusion of the *maraufu*, fine mats being laid all along the path from the canoe-house to the village, since none of the secluded men must set foot to the ground. While they were feasting Taraematawa suddenly heard the sound of the winding of a conch far off. " The sound," said he, " is like that of my own conch at home in my big canoe," and cries with grief, but the people have heard nothing. It came nearer, only three or four miles away, and they all heard it. Nearer and nearer came the sound, and they saw the canoes, and the people in them called out, " Have you seen Taraematawa ? " for they were his people. " Here he is," answered the people on the shore. The two girls began to weep at the thought of the departure of their guest, but their father said, " You shall go with him, too." So they dried their eyes, and their father loaded Taraematawa's canoe with shell money, hanging it on the bow of the canoe till the bow sank and the stern rose up in the air. Then Taraematawa and his two beautiful wives embarked and set out for his home, where they lived together.

Waipuamaremare.—He was the elder of two brothers. His younger brothers went one day to a stream near the village, and found a bunch of *pua* (areca nuts) floating down with the water. He took it and carried it into the house, and leaving it in his bag he went out again. Presently Waipua came in and asked for some *pua*, but no one had any to give him. However, someone said, " There are some nuts in your brother's bag over there, which he has just brought back from the stream." So he took it and began to *tamu* (chew areca nut, leaves and lime), and used it all up. Presently his brother came in again and asked where his areca nuts were, and when he learnt that they were all eaten he began to cry. Nothing would console him. Waipua put strings of shell money round his neck and gave him presents, but he only cried the more for his areca nut, so at last Waipua said " Well, don't cry, I will follow the stream till I come to the tree itself from which your nuts came." So he took his spear and club and bow and arrows and set out to look for the tree. After a time he came to an areca nut tree standing by the brink of the stream, but the nuts were not quite the same, so he went on. Presently he came to another areca nut tree, but

again the nuts were not quite like those his brother had found, so he went on again. Night came on and he slept by the stream and went on again next day, but it was well on into the afternoon before he reached the tree he was seeking. He saw some fine branches, so he climbed up, but just as he stretched out his hand to pluck them, the tree lengthened and they were high above his head once more. This happened again and again till he was almost crying with vexation, but he was determined not to give in. At last he noticed the branch of a banyan which almost reached him, and he thought if he stood on the branch he would be able to grasp the bunch of areca nuts, so he stepped on to the branch ; but as he did so the areca nut tree sank down away from him, and sank lower and lower out of sight, and there he was perched upon the bough of a large banyan in another country, the country of the sky. He sat there wondering what he should do, and presently he saw two very beautiful girls come down to the stream to draw water, but instead of a bamboo they carried the skull of a dead man. Suddenly they saw his shadow in the water and started, thinking it was a man, but he moved and they did not look up. Then he dropped some leaves he was chewing, and the two girls saw the leaves floating by and wondered how they came there. Then he dropped a piece of areca nut and finally some of the red juice from his mouth. " It must be a bird," said they, and looked and saw Waipua sitting on the bough of the banyan. " You are a ghost," said they. " No," said he, " but you are certainly ghosts ; no one else would use a skull, we don't do such a thing in my country."

However, he came down, and they took him home to their village, but left him outside in an enclosure, and went and told their father and mother to go out to the enclosure and see the thing they had found. So their father and mother went to look and found Waipua all decked out in his bravest ornaments, shell necklaces, and shell armlets, and a flower in his hair, and they were delighted with him and brought him in and scolded their daughters for leaving this fine fellow outside. After a time the father and mother went away, but before going they said to their daughters : " Be very careful not to lift the stone so that he looks down and sees his home and desires to return to it " ; but Waipua heard their words, and when they were gone he asked the girls what their parents had said to them. " Oh," said they, " they only told us to stay at home and cook " ; but he shook his head and said, " No, that was not what they said." " Well," said the girls, " if you must know, they told us to go to the garden and get coco-nuts." " No," said he,

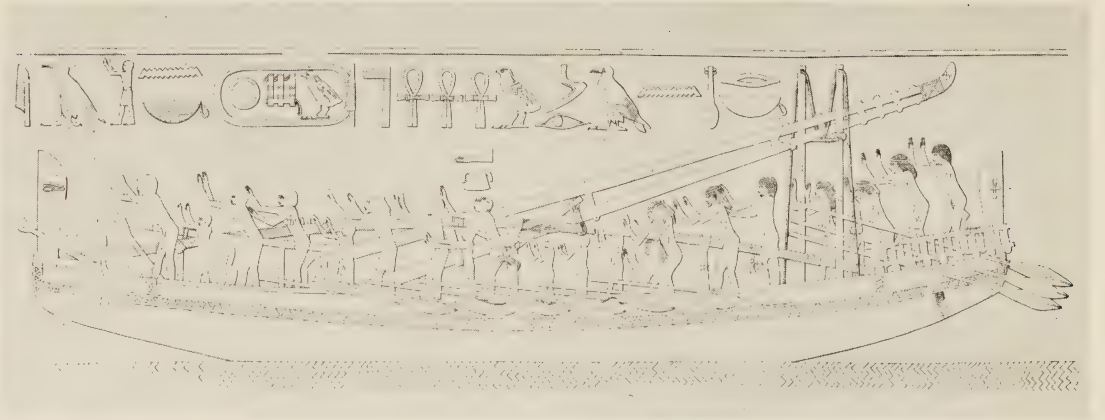


Fig. 4a. EGYPTIAN SEA-GOING SHIP OF PYRAMID AGE

[face p. 122

" they said something else." So at last they told him, and he persuaded them to lift the stone, and when the three had lifted it, he looked down and saw his own country down below him, and a great longing seized him to return to his home. So for four long days the three of them collected strong lengths of rattan and made a small platform, and sat on it, and let it down by the four corners, through the hold. They let themselves down and down, but it was a long way and night came on, so they tied up for the night and slept. Next morning they went on again and reached the ground. But there was no longer a house where the village had been, for after his death the people had scattered far and wide, and the trees had grown up in the village, and the houses had rotted away. So they made a new one, and when the new village was finished they made a great feast, and there were great rejoicings. And there Waipua lived happily with his two wives.

CHAPTER X

SPIRITUAL BEINGS

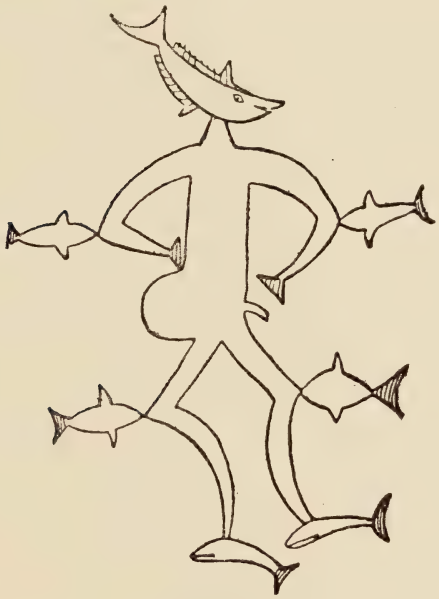
Adaro Spirits

ALL the *adaro* so far described have been ghosts, but there are many *adaro* which are spirits, i.e. they have never been men. There are three chief divisions of these: (1) *Adaro ni matawa*, sea spirits; (2) *Adaro ni hasimou*, woodland spirits; and (3) *Adaro here* or *haaheu*, the grasping or changing *adaro*. Besides these there are a few other special ones.

1. *Adaro ni matawa.—Matawa* means the open sea or the horizon. These spirits of the sea are a favourite subject for San Cristoval artists. They are represented as partly human, partly fish-like. They are thought to live far out to sea or near small islands along the coast. The chief of them is called Ngoriaru, and he is known by this name in South Malaita, Ulawa, and all over San Cristoval. Two subordinate chiefs are named Huaholai matawa and Hanai matawa in Ulawa. Prayers are made to Ngoriaru when people embark on a voyage and sacrifices offered to him. *Adaro ni matawa* are malevolent beings. They shoot men with flying-fish. A man fishing in his canoe will feel a sudden pain in his back or neck and the bone will be broken. He will return to the village and ask the priest what has affected him, and will be told after inquiry that he has been shot by an *adaro ni matawa*. Men learn dances from them. In a dream the soul goes out to the sea and is conducted by an *adaro ni matawa* to a sandy beach where in the surf the drowned people of *Hanua asi* are dancing. The soul goes night by night and learns the dance. The *adaro ni matawa* move in water-spouts, and the rainbow is their path. One who lives in the rainbow is worshipped at Ugi. A rainbow is always a sign for people to go indoors, not only because *adaro ni matawa* use it, but because it is a favourite bridge for other *adaro* as well. The soul of a man may use it to go afar while the body sleeps. Woodland *adaro* use it. If a man points

at it with his finger, the finger is bent and can never be straightened again. A Heuru boy named Maeraha played out of doors when a rainbow was shining and his soul was seized by a wandering *adaro*. His body grew weaker and weaker till other *adaro* were called in by the priest to his aid. One sees an *adaro ni matawa* on his journeys as a wandering fire, or if one fails to see him, one smells a fish-like smell, a sign that he is near.

Tararamanu and *Rakerakemanu* are two *adaro ni matawa*, who are known along the north-east coast, as *Wakatarau* is on the opposite coast (pp. 125, 126, 127). The last named lives at an island called Goroa. Some time ago he devoured two brothers who lived on



WAKATARAU.

the mainland opposite his island. He came up from the sea, changed himself into a cloud and came and rested on a stone on the shore. The two brothers came from a place called Rangi, where all had lately died. One was standing idly outside his house in the cool of the evening, when he noticed the cloud on the stone. He called to his brother to come out and see it and asked him what he thought it was. "It is only a cloud of sunset," replied his brother. It came up from off the stone towards them and they fled into their house, and barred their door against him. They hear him come up close and stamp against

the wall. Then he climbed up on the roof, looked down and saw them, broke his way in, and devoured them both.

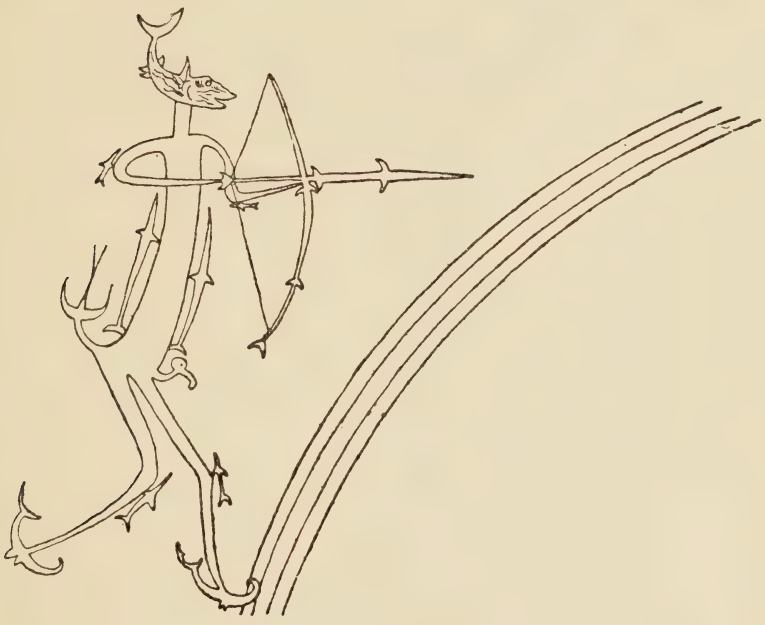
Tararamanu.—Maekasia of Fagani describes as follows the beginning of the cult of the sea spirit Tararamanu :—

" Tararamanu is a true spirit of the open sea, he has no home on shore to which he belongs. Now this was the time of which I am telling when people first began to make a shrine for him, when he appeared to some men who were chasing bonito. There were three brothers

TARARAMANU.
Adaro ni Matawa.
(Drawn by Saunitiku, Fagani.)

comrades, whose names were Waisi, Gaumafa, and Fagarafe. They were living in the village and made a canoe for bonito fishing and they got their canoe ready, and all that belongs to such a canoe, fishing lines and tortoise hooks, both large and small ones. Then they hired from a chief named Pairi a bamboo fishing rod to fish with from the stern, and Pairi gave them two lengths and said to them, ' Friends, the name of this rod for which you are giving me money is Wakio ' (the bird

Wango people call Aragau), a bird that darts down swiftly on the fish beneath it. Gaumafa replied, ' It shall be the name of our bonito canoe, we will call it Wakio.' They often went fishing for bonito in the Wakio and sometimes caught three and four and five fish, but no more than that. One day they went out, and paddling towards the open sea they failed to find the shoal of big bonito, though they kept dipping their rod into the water, but they did not get a single bite with large or small hooks ; however they let their canoe float on and on towards the open sea far from land. Then looking towards Ugi they saw a red rainbow right across Ugi, like a piece of scarlet cloth, cross-



TARARAMANU.
(Drawn by Wataroto, Rafurafu.)

wise against the island as one pulls up a sail, and they were afraid that something would happen to them. ' No doubt,' they said to one another, ' some spirit of the open sea will presently shoot at us.' The red rainbow faded and was followed by a grey drizzle of rain, and when this lifted and the sun shone brightly on them they saw far off a streak of white, like a peeled tree standing out white in the forest, but this stretched across the horizon, flashing swiftly along like a spreading fire, the foaming path of bonito, rushing and leaping on the small fish for their prey. What were they like ? like monstrous things !

for Tararamanu had already come down in the red rainbow and the grey drizzle of rain and the bright sky afterwards, and he it was who drove towards them the eating bonito, towards the men who had been seeking bonito in the open sea far from shore, and now he began to give them bonito three and four and five and six, and the bonito shoal contained a hundred or perhaps more than two hundred of them, so that their canoe was already almost sinking. Then he possessed Wasi and spoke with Wasi's voice to the other two, saying, ' You call your canoe " The Wakio ", call it so no longer, but call it after my canoe " Sautatare-i-roburo ", " He who follows up the bonito to their home,"

RAKERAKEMANU.
Ataro ni matawa, Wango.
(Drawn by Oroaniia, Wango.)

and make me a shrine in it, and I will give you fish in it, and sacrifice to me both in the sea and in the village shrine.' So that was the beginning of it and these are the very words spoken in the beginning to the people who worship him and knew him well, so that he gave them bonito and they sacrificed to him some of the fish which they caught, and the spirit Tararamanu gave them generously all kinds of fish, that is to those who worshipped him and prayed and sacrificed to him, but a man whom he disliked he killed. Such an one he would shoot with his bow and arrow, the arrow one of those garfish which comes skimming over the surface of the sea and then suddenly dives down alongside one,

this is a fish a spirit has shot at one. There are two characteristics of Tararamanu : if he gives he gives generously all sorts of fish, but then again he may attack one. This strange spirit of the open sea has two characters and is two, like two men who are fast friends and have but one name. But his cult was dying away at Fagani before the day came when Christianity was introduced ; man did not seek him because they were afraid of him."

2. *Adaro ni hasimou*, i.e. bush *adaro*, correspond on land to the *adaro ni matawa* in the sea. In native opinion they are spirits, not ghosts, and they are malevolent. But it is sometimes difficult to say in a particular case whether it is an *adaro ni hasimou* or an ordinary *adaro* that is spoken of : the natives themselves are sometimes uncertain. It is possible, for example, that Wowotagai mentioned above is really an *adaro ni hasimou*, a spirit, not a ghost, and *Tapia*, of whom we shall write presently, is possibly a ghost, though probably a spirit. Again there is manifest confusion as to whether the being connected with a certain tree, pool, or rock, is a *figona* or an *adaro ni hasimou*. Native opinion is uncertain. And finally there is a confusion between *adaro ni hasimou* and *kakamora*, the little people to be described later. All *adaro ni hasimou* have straight long hair, unlike Melanesians, described as like the hair of Polynesians. They are about at the shining of a rainbow, in a sunshower, and during heavy rain when everything is grey and half hidden. There are certain trees where they are known to dwell like the *uri* in the tale of Hasihonu. They are found at particular rocks or pools. Children are warned not to go near these places. The result would be the stealing of the child's soul ; his body would waste away. Should such a thing happen, the priest is called in to obtain the help of the ghosts. Ghosts are stronger than woodland spirits, and can recover from them the souls they have seized. The natives going through the bush at night hear a crackling and rustling near the path. It is an *adaro*. If the traveller calls out to it to go away and it does so, he knows it must be a ghost, not malevolent, like an *adaro ni hasimou*, which would not go when asked to. *Adaro ni hasimou* are not sociable like ghosts, and refuse to chat when met with. The mere sight of one is enough to make a man waste away and die. They do not decorate themselves with ornaments. They are less powerful than ghosts. Some of them live underground.

There is one near Pamua at a spring called Pupu. This *adaro* lives underground. A native friend of ours, named Mamake, recently saw it. It was about three feet high, a woman with long straight hair

down to her knees, dark skinned and speechless. It was during a steady downpour of rain that he passed by and saw her. Her head, like that of an *adaro here,* was fixed the wrong way, her face towards her back. He ran home and was none the worse, but he tells us a friend of his saw her some time ago, and when he got back blood flowed from his mouth, nose and ears, till he died.

Tapia, known all along the northern coast of San Cristoval, is probably an *adaro ni hasimou.* Dr. Codrington, who considered all *adaro* to be ghosts, wrote of him as "a malignant ghost, who seized a man's soul and bound it to a banyan", when a sacrifice of substitution was offered, so that the man, who was wasting away, might recover. Tapia's priest burnt pig or fish on the sacred stone.

Maekasia of Fagani writes as follows of Tapia :—"He is either a ghost or a spirit. He may change himself into a man or woman ; he has no pity, and only searches for men to destroy them ; he properly belongs to the eastern part of the island Kahua and Rumatari and beyond, but our fathers at Fagani also worshipped him and sacrificed to him on the black rock at the mouth of the river near Tomare, on the little hill Qarusunafau. There they sacrificed to him the fat of pigs for a burnt offering and sweet savour ; his nature was to destroy men, and he was utterly without pity. But in the end he married a woman, and was kind to her, doing her no injury, until the day when she died of a sickness. She was the wife of Tapia's priest, so that she had two husbands, the priest and Tapia. She knew that Tapia came into her and stayed with her, and she would say, 'Tapia came to me to-day and stayed with me.' Often and often he came and stayed with her and did her no harm."

In the following tale told by Bo, the old chief of Heuru, to his son Takibaina, an *adaro ni hasimou,* named Warungarae, takes the form of a man's wife to deceive him, and goes off with him in his canoe, destroying him. The wife, left desolate, is saved by a ghost, in the shape of a turtle ; at least it is probably a ghost, though it may possibly be a family guardian spirit.

Warungarae.—Two people were married ; the name of the man was Bworouharimamu and the name of his wife was Saumamaruitaaru. They lived in their village by the shore. When Saumamaruitaaru was about to bear a child, they went for a walk along the sand, and they saw a large fruit of the *uri* (*Spondias dulcis*),[1] which the current had

[1] The fruit which the Uraua clan of Bauro are forbidden to carry.

carried out from the neighbouring river and the sea had washed up on the beach ; and they took it and asked one another whence it could have come. So they carried down their canoe, launched it through the surf, and paddled along the coast till they came to the mouth of the river, which they turned. Bworouharimamu told his wife Saumamaruitaaru to cover up carefully her body, and said to her, " When we land we will go to this side of the *uri*, the side nearest us, and don't you go in to the farther side ; and when there is a sunshower we must hurry into our canoe." So they went along gathering the fruit, but the woman wandered away to the farther side of the tree under an overhanging branch. Then the woodland spirit became changed again and came down from the tree, and then there was a sunshower, and the spirit took the form of the woman. The name of the spirit (*adaro*) was Warungarae. Then the spirit said to the man, " Come, jump quickly into the canoe with me or Warungarae will see us and devour us." So they embarked, Warungarae first and then Bworouharimamu, who took the steering paddle, and they paddled away down the river. And now Saumamamaruitaaru came back from the farther side of the tree and saw her husband and the spirit paddling away and already some distance off. She began shouting and calling out to her husband, " Here am I, here am I, it's I myself, but that is the evil spirit you are carrying off with you in your canoe." But the spirit said to him, " Ah ! what a clever deceiver, that is the evil spirit himself all the time ; paddle hard or he will devour us both." It was all in vain that his wife shouted herself hoarse on the bank, for neither of them paid any further attention to her, but paddled on along the edge of the harbour till they were lost to sight.

So she climbed up a tall *daro* tree, whose branches bent down over the water, and made her way along them. Then she untied the necklace of fish teeth which she wore round her neck, and unstrung it. She took off one of the teeth and threw it down into the water, and all the fish of the sea rose up and came to her. " No," she said, " I can't go with any of you, for soon, perhaps, you will be pursuing your prey and will throw me off without troubling about me ; you will never think of me, you will be sure to lose me." So then she threw down into the water another tooth from her necklace, and all the sharks rose up and came to her. But she said to them, " No, I dare not trust myself to you, for presently, perhaps, you will be chasing some canoe, and you will throw me away without troubling what becomes of me." And so with the next tooth, she spoke the same words as before. At length

there was only one tooth left, the very last tooth of all, but she threw it down into the water, and up rose the turtles, for it was a turtle's tooth. Then she said, " Good, now I can jump down safely," for she called the turtle her ancestor. So she sprang down from the overhanging branch of the *daro* tree on to the back of the turtle, whose name was Hasih-onueero, and there she crouched. The turtle dived down with her and took her right out to the open sea. Then she (the turtle) dived again, down and down, till the woman on her back felt as though she must die for lack of breath, but they came up safely again to the surface of the sea. Then the turtle took a long breath, and leaving the woman at the surface, went down and down to the bottom and brought stones to make a place for the woman to walk about on. When she had brought four or five and saw that they nearly reached to the surface of the sea, she brought the woman there, but the water still reached to her throat. Then the turtle brought some more and piled them up to the island and they very nearly reached the surface; the water now came to her armpits. She brought four or five more and the water came to her breast; four or five more and the water only came to her waist. So she stood there while the turtle went for a few more, till the water came to her knees, and then only to her ankles. And at last, when the turtle had brought some more stones the place was dry, above the waves: it was an island.

The woman walked about on it, but as yet there were no trees on it, and said to herself, " Yes, it has indeed become an island, this work of my ancestor, but still there are no trees on it." And then at the sound of her speaking, trees sprouted from the ground, and the grass and fruits good to eat—breadfruit and almonds, Barringtonia nuts and coco-nuts, food of all kinds, yams, both smooth and prickly, and taro. Then the woman said to herself, " Yes, now indeed there are all sorts of food for me to eat, but still there is no fire," whereupon the turtle who had befriended her came to the shore of the island and said to her, " Choose out a flat piece of shell from my back and make with it a house for yourself, and as for that other thing you desire, rub on the shell till a spark comes." And so she did, and there she lived. At length she bore a child, whom she was expecting when she and her husband set out in their canoe, and she took him joyfully in her arms and brought him to the turtle to nurse, and said to her, " Grandmother, you must nurse my child for awhile." So the turtle came and set him firmly on her back, and carried him off far out to sea.

3. *Adaro here.*—This is the general name for this spirit *adaro*, but

it is also known as *haaheu*, or " changeling ", in Ulawa (as well as *akalo hele*), and on the south coast of San Cristoval as *adaro ngaungau*, devouring *adaro*, or *adaro maramara inuni*, *adaro* mimicking a man. It takes the form of a man or woman, appearing at daybreak or at dusk. To a man it takes the form of a beautiful woman, tempting him to go with her and eat with her. It is generally the form of some woman known to him, but gorgeously decorated. If a woman sees the *adaro here*, she sees it as some man she knows.

The chief point of interest with regard to the *adaro here* is the widespread belief in it in Polynesia as well as in Melanesia.

There is a good account of an *adaro here* in Robert Louis Stevenson's *Beach of Falesa*, so no doubt the story is current in Samoa.

In the Polynesian Reef Islands this spirit is called *atua fafine*.[1] The *atua fafine* appears usually at dusk on the rocks, to a man in the form of his wife, to a woman in the form of her husband. It has red hair and a red throat. If he says to the *atua*, " My wife ! " the man dies.

Another account from these Polynesian Reefs makes the *atua fafine* appear as two women joined together like the Siamese twins. They follow a man walking alone at dusk. They are fair and ruddy and sometimes accompanied by two light-coloured men. A man was one day followed by these handsome women, and accepted from them a wild coco-nut, of which he ate a portion. " Now," said the *atua*, " he is already one of us, we have him for certain." He reached the village, was sick and " died ", i.e. he became unconscious, but recovered by the application to his nostrils of a certain sweet-smelling leaf.

Besides the *adaro* spirits there are other *adaro*, some of whom are certainly spirits and others probably so. A certain *adaro* presided over Rodomana, the abode of the dead ; another guarded the entrance ; both were spirits.

The rainbow has been several times mentioned as the path of *adaro*. Maekasia, of Fagani, says " it was the great road of the spirits of the sea ; if people saw a rainbow they thought there was a spirit coming towards them along it, and this is why they were so afraid of it. Even now when they see a rainbow they all run into their houses ".

" A turtle," he adds, " holds up a rock at Haununu. He knows when an earthquake occurs, hurries to the stone, and clasps it. They think if that turtle should fail to do so and did not clasp the rock,

[1] Among the bush people of East Arosi the word *atua* means a ghost and takes the place of *adaro*.

then that would be the end of the island, but because he looks after the rock the island still stands. They think that rock is the supporting pillar of this island of San Cristoval, and they say of the turtle that if he had not attended to that rock the island would have already sunk and been destroyed in the sea."

This turtle is famous everywhere in San Cristoval, and is often said to have a bird's head. It is represented by native drawings on the posts of the serpent house at Haununu. (The name Haununu means earthquake-rock.) It is not a ghost, of course, but we do not know whether it is called an *adaro*.

Maekasia writes of meteors that " the people think falling stars also are *adaro* and we call them *Adaro tari*—wandering *adaro*—and the heathen used to be very much afraid of them when they saw them, thinking it was an *adaro* coming down. They used to run into their houses and bar the doors ". Perhaps these were ghosts. Fireflies at evening were spoken of as souls of the dead, but *Adaro ni matawa*, who were not ghosts, were seen as wandering fires.

The guardian spirits of families, not clans, are also called *adaro*, but are not considered to be ghosts. These were in the form of animals. Each family has its guardian animal, and a man inherits this from his father, and it continues to guard his son. This, then, is a case of inheritance from the father, and it should be noted that, though a spirit, the animal is called *adaro*, not *figona*.

The guardian animal is very often a snake, sometimes an opossum, either a *hito* or a *kunu*, and often a frog. Its haunt is known. It comes to the house from time to time when any event of importance occurs, such as a birth or death in the family, or a case of sickness. It is fed and thought to have a connexion with the family. Sau's father, when he became a Christian, was horrified to discover that, as he supposed, his family had always been specially connected with the Evil Spirit, since his family guardian took the form of a snake.

The following is Dr. Codrington's account of the *adaro here* in the New Hebrides :—

" Beings called Tavogivogi must be classed as spirits ; they are certainly not human beings, and correspond to the mysterious snakes called *mae*,[1] which in neighbouring islands are believed to assume the form of men. A Tavogivogi is not thought ever to have the appearance of a snake ; one of them appears in the form of a youth or woman in

[1] Or *mwai*.

order to entice one of the opposite sex, and the young man or woman who yields to the seduction dies. . . . The young man goes home and sickens ; he remembers the sudden disappearance (like a bird), knows what has befallen him, and never recovers. The name means ' changeling ', from the word in the Banks Islands *wog*, to change the form.

" The belief is most strong in all these islands (Banks and Northern New Hebrides) that the snake (called *mae*, a banded sea snake) turns itself into a young man or woman—generally into a young woman—to tempt the opposite sex ; to yield to the temptation causes death.

" It is possible to discover the deceit, but the discovery is often made too late. . . . In the Banks Islands a young man, as one has related his experience to myself, coming back from his fishing on the rocks towards sunset, will see a girl with her head bedecked with flowers beckoning to him from the slope of the cliff up which his path is leading him ; he recognizes the countenance of some girl of his own or a neighbouring village, he stands and hesitates, and thinks she must be a *mae* ; he looks more closely, and observes that her elbows and knees bend the wrong way ; this reveals her true character, and he flies. . . . At Gaua, Santa Maria, a man met one of these standing or variegated snakes as they call them, *mae tiratira, valeleas*, on the beach at night in the form of a woman of the place. Seeing by her reversed joints what she was, he offered to go to the village and bring her money. When he returned he found her waiting for him in her proper form, as a *mae* ; he scattered money upon her back, and she went off with it into the sea."

One of us well remembers the excitement caused by a *mae*, seen at Mota one evening ten years ago by a man of the place. We were sitting talking in the village, when this man rushed up the path from the landing-place in great excitement, declaring he had seem a *mae valeleas*. We immediately repaired to the spot on the cliff where the *mae* had been seen, but found nothing. The man saw the *mae* in the form of a woman of the village named Mary. She sat by the path, and he spoke to her and said, " Shall we go up to the village ? " " Not I," she replied, " you go up by yourself." He then looked closely at her and saw she had decorated her hair with two kinds of hibiscus, red and white, which no native woman would think of doing. He recognized her as a *mae*. The real Mary was sitting with us in the village. Nothing happened to the man.

The same thing exactly is known in San Cristoval, and natives

declare that many deaths are caused in this way. It is worth while observing that, though the Banks Island appearance is not a ghost, and no one supposes it to be so, yet they call it a *tamate*. It seems hard to believe they would use this term for it unless it were a foreign belief; it would certainly be called a *vui*. The following are interesting facts regarding this *adaro*, showing how details vary in different islands with the same underlying idea.

1. There is always a change, generally into an animal.

In the New Hebrides the beautiful woman changes into a bird.

In Santa Maria (Banks Islands) into the stalk of a creeper.

In other parts of the Banks Islands into an amphibious snake.

In San Cristoval into a brush turkey; also in Malaita.

In Ulawa it turns into a butterfly.

In the Polynesian Islands, referred to above, no change is mentioned.

2. If you see the change you die. This seems to be everywhere the case. Generally also if you eat food offered to you, you die. In some places, as in San Cristoval, if you can understand what it says to you, you die.

3. It is not quite human. Everywhere the joints are reversed.

In the Polynesian Reef Islands it has a red throat.

In the Banks Islands the skin at the back of the neck is snake skin, and the creature has a bright red tongue.

In San Cristoval and Malaita the head is reversed as well as the joints.

4. It does not understand human conditions, and there is sure to be something it does not know how to do, by which it may be detected for what it is. This is very characteristic.[1]

In the New Hebrides, ask it the name of some common tree and it cannot tell you. Here, too, you may ask it to sit on a nettle, and its ready compliance betrays it.

In the Polynesian Reef Islands it is known if you offer it a drink from a coco-nut cup: it doesn't understand drinking, and holds the cup upside down. Or you may give it a twig to break, and the creature holds it aimlessly, wondering how to break it. It does not understand the use of areca nut.

[1] These and other characteristics seem to show that it belongs to an introduced foreign cult. Every man of the place knows the nature of a nettle; not so foreigners, as Englishmen in the Islands have several times proved.

In San Cristoval you may ask it where the sun rises : it will be thrown into confusion and point all round the compass ; or you may throw a spear at it and see whether it knows enough to jump aside.

5. In its attempt to entice, it overdoes things, from ignorance of local customs.

In the New Hebrides it blackens its hair, if a man, and powders its hair white, if a woman ; but always in excess of what is proper.

In the Banks Islands the tattoo marks are of so gorgeous a pattern as no mortal skill could fashion. It puts more hibiscus flowers into its hair than men do ; or mixes the colours, which native women never do.

In San Cristoval and Malaita it is beautifully tattooed and has more rings, and finer ones, than living men and women.

6. It may be charmed by the application of sacred leaves. In the Banks Islands it cannot even bear the sight of a white amaranthus flower, and if you strike it with a croton leaf its tail starts out. A dracaena leaf is equally efficacious in San Cristoval.

7. It never appears at any time except in the morning or evening ; and always by the shore.

In Ulawa it is thought that there are really only two, a male named Pwaai, who always takes the form of a man to appear to women, and a female, his wife, who undertakes the seduction of men and always appears as a woman. Everywhere in the Banks Islands, as well as in San Cristoval, Malaita, and Ulawa, it is much more usual for Pwaai's wife to be seen than for Pwaai himself to appear.

CHAPTER XI

KAKAMORA TALES

THE *kakamora* are not *figona* or *adaro* ; but neither are they quite human [but see pp. 354 seq.].

The following is the native's description of them :—

They vary considerably in height, from six inches to three or four feet, but in San Cristoval there are none larger than that : six inches is the ordinary height. They also vary in colour from very dark to quite fair. Most of them are considered to be quite harmless, but sometimes they have been known to attack men. When they do so they use their fingers, which are furnished with long sharp nails with which they stab. They have no weapons of any sort, build no houses, plant no gardens, and have no arts. They wander about the forest, eating nuts, ripe fruit, and opossums : the last they are fond of. Sometimes men have come across two of them, one at the top of a tree throwing a dead opossum to his mate. They are exceedingly strong : one is said to be as strong as three or four men. They live in holes and caves, and sometimes in banyan trees. They are exceedingly fond of dancing, and many of their dancing grounds are pointed out. They dance by moonlight and in heavy rain, and sing as they dance. They have a language, but not like Melanesian languages. They have long straight hair coming down to their knees. They have a king—in Mwala it is a queen. They know nothing about fire or cooking, but they like to snatch brands from native fires and play with them, presently throwing them carelessly aside. Some of them are fond of deluding men. One plan is to beat another *kakamora* ; men suppose it is a child crying, follow it, get lost in the bush, and are mocked by the *kakamora* from the tree-tops. They are naked, have very small teeth, and are afraid of anything white. They like to steal ornaments, but soon throw them away. If they find a Melanesian asleep they count his fingers and toes and discuss him, but do not harm him.

Some kill and eat men. Many stories are told of their capture. One was captured at Ugi many years ago. A native of Guadalcanar told us that he had seen one of these creatures tied up in his village, where the people mocked and made fun of him. However, he escaped, seizing a child as he ran off. The people followed his tracks in the bush till they came to a cliff. High up on the cliff and quite inaccessible, they saw a cave, at the mouth of which the *kakamora* was sitting with his mate. They succeeded in shooting him. The child they never saw again. Some bush people from Maipua in San Cristoval described the capture of one by a man who had hidden near a nut tree. They took the *kakamora* to their village, where he remained for a time, and they decked him foolishly with all their choicest necklaces, and then at the sudden unaccustomed sound of a drum he started up and rushed off to his cave, a deep cleft in the rock, where they could not follow him. They killed a pig and left the carcase at the mouth of his hole and so killed him. The same method of killing *kakamora* was generally employed, so that they have become extinct. The South Malaita *mumu* are the same as the *kakamora*, but some of these, like the *dodore* of North Malaita, are described as large. Some have only one foot, one arm, and one eye. They have long red hair like horse's tails. They stab and kill men with their long finger nails, or by spitting into their eyes. The large kind wander in pairs, and, smelling a man from a distance, follow him to kill him.

A remarkable fact is the number of names by which they are known. Along the San Cristoval coast they are *pwaronga, kakangora, kakamora*; in the bush *toku, katu, waitarohia,* and other names; *mumu* in South Malaita, *dodore* in North Malaita, *tutu-langi* and *mumulou* in parts of Guadalcanar. This is remarkable, since it is obviously the same people everywhere who are named so differently.[1] If the accounts of them are descriptions of earlier races, or if they date back to a time when the languages were more different, this variety of nomenclature would be intelligible.

Obviously some of the beings now called *adaro* are very like the *kakamora*. For example, the *adaro* with face reversed, near Pamua, is described as a very small woman, about three feet high, with long straight hair and long finger nails, but she changes into a brush turkey, which the *kakamora* never do. Others like the one in the tale given

[1] The *Masi*, to be presently described, are called by the same name in Malaita, San Cristoval, and Ulawa.

below are very like the beings called *vui* (spirits) in the Banks Islands, who are in turn like the woodland *adaro* of San Cristoval. No doubt the gigantic one-legged red-haired ogres of Malaita and the tiny six-inch mischievous fairies of San Cristoval are both exaggerations of the Melanesian fancy, but it would seem that there must be some basis of fact for the stories as a whole. The *kakamora* actually captured are always about the size of very small men, not much smaller than the pigmies of Bugotu or New Guinea.

The tiny mischevious *kakamora* have their counterpart in the Banks Islands *nopitu*, whom they resemble in many ways, but the latter are called *vui* (spirits).

An old man named Islavon, a native of Mitalava in the Banks Islands, described to us the *nopitu* as follows : " They come up from the waves and turn into men, whom they bewitch. And there are other kinds of *nopitu* who live in caves and holes in the ground, and are very small indeed, but if they take a fancy to a person they go to him and make him foolish and he says, ' I want a red yam and a red coco-nut,' and he says this laughing. They dislike dark people, but like beautiful fair people. They change into men and these men find money in their hair. They don't like evil men, only men who are straightforward. They are about six inches in height, with long hair and sharp finger nails. All the people did not see them, only those whom they favoured. They would do much for such a one, carrying long strings of money to his house, where they buried it for him. They gaily decorated themselves with nosegays of flowers and loved dancing. If they entered a man or woman, that person said ' we ' in talking, meaning that *nopitu* were within." A very interesting account of the *nopitu* may be found in *The Melanesians*. Bishop Wilson has seen a woman possessed by a *nopitu* producing native shell money in profusion by rubbing her hands together. He was quite close to her and could see no method of concealment. The money did not vanish afterward, but is said to do so when the *nopitu* departs. A woman possessed by a *nopitu* will often produce money from her hair. A case lately occurred in Florida, in the Solomon Islands, of a native claiming to produce money freely from his hair, golden sovereigns in this case, and he declared he did so through the power of a snake (*vigona*) with whom he had intercourse. The association of the *nopitu* with *vui* (spirits) in the Banks probably accounts for the production of riches through their help, that is to say the *nopitu* would seem to be the San Cristoval *kakamora* with the attributes of *vui* (spirits) added to them. More may be

Fig. 5. GIRLS OF HEURU

[face p. 140

read about the *kakamora* under the heading " Wild Men " in Dr. Codrington's book, *The Melanesians*.[1] It seems obvious that in each particular island they have been more or less confused with other beings, *vui* in the Banks Islands, and *adaro* in the Solomons, but on the whole we are inclined to think the stories relate to an earlier race either in these islands or in the islands from whence the Melanesians came. " To myself," writes Dr. Codrington, " so far as the belief has any foundation at all in fact, it appears to be a fanciful exaggeration of the difference, which the coast people are much disposed to exaggerate, between themselves and the man of the *uta*, the inland tracts, who have no canoes and cannot swim, the true *orang utan*, or man of the woods, the ' man-bush ' of pigeon-English." This is no doubt a natural supposition on the part of anyone who has not himself seen the *uta* and the people there, but to anyone who has it is obviously inadequate as regards San Cristoval ; and if it is inadequate in one case it probably is so in all, since the stories are the same.

In the first place, one suspects that it is the white observer and not the native who is disposed to exaggerate the difference between the coast man and the bush man. The coast man laughs at the bush man as a bungler at the coast man's crafts, but he does not consider him different from himself. Perhaps exceptions should be made of large islands like Guadalcanar, and still more New Guinea, but this is true of San Cristoval. There are in San Cristoval loose alliances formed of a number of villages, which live in amity and help one another in war. Such an alliance includes, perhaps, three or four bush villages and three or four coast villages, not *only* coast villages nor only bush villages. There is no constant warfare between bush and coast " tribes ". People often walk from coast to coast, never more than thirty miles apart. The bush people are well known, and all related to the coast people in their vicinity. The people of the inland villages are known quite as well as the people along the coasts. So far as we know, the languages of the bush people do not differ from the coast languages any more than those differ among themselves. The people of the coast do not differ from the bush people in appearance, nor so far as we know, in customs or beliefs. To suppose that these imagine their bush relations, well known and constantly visited, and speaking their own language, as creatures six inches high, with straight hair, no houses, gardens, weapons or arts, and talking an unintelligible language, is

[1] p. 354.

obviously absurd. White men are very apt to imagine the bush, because unknown to them, to be mysterious, and the home of strange people. Natives know better. But besides this, the bush people have the same belief in the *kakamora*, certainly not an exaggerated idea of the coast people. Since the *kakamora* they describe live in the interior, in caves and holes, like the coast *kakamora*. They have their own names for them ; and precisely the same stories that the coast people tell are told in the bush. The *kakamora* are certainly not the bush people of the present time. But they may be the people who held the land before the Melanesians entered it, in very ancient times, and who are now extinct ; or they may be the memories of other people from other islands whence the Melanesians came. We therefore incline to Dr. Codrington's opinion that the tales, if they have a foundation in fact, relate to people of the interior ; but not to the present people of the interior, perhaps not to the people of the interior of the present islands ; and it is possible that they are only the vague traditions of some race whom the Melanesians have known. If reliance can be placed on the very circumstantial descriptions of natives who say they have seen the *kakamora*, then we must suppose the stories to relate to the former inhabitants of the land, and even allow it to be a possibility that some still exist in the more inaccessible mountain parts.

(1) *The Blind Kakamora* (*Bore*)

A small boy heard that there was to be a dance among the blind *kakamora* of north-west San Cristoval. He knew where their dancing ground was, and decided to venture among them, since they could not see him, and view their dance. So he went to the place and sat among them while they feasted. In the moonlight they danced, but during the feast they suspected that there was a mortal among them, and said to one another, " When we dance let each of us tie a wisp of grass round his wrist, and feel for anyone who has none." And so they did ; each tied a wisp of grass round his wrist, and they felt and found the boy, and knew he was a stranger and killed him.

(2) *The Kakamora and the Boy* (*Heuru*)

As the evening was falling in, the boy was crying because he wanted his father and mother to give him a lizard to play with. They told him to be quiet, and he obeyed, but he sat very sulky on the bamboo platform outside the door of the house, where they had put him. So they shut him out, went inside and lay down to sleep. When they were

asleep he began to cry again, and went on crying. A *kakamora* heard him crying, and came out of his cave near by. Now the boy lay on a coco-nut leaf mat spread on the bamboo platform, and the *kakamora* came near, climbed up on to his bed, groped about till he felt him, and carried him off, mat and all. He carried him off towards his cave; but the boy knew he was being carried away, and managed to grasp the branch of a maradara tree as they passed under it, and hung to it like a bat. But the *kakamora* did not realize what had happened, and trudged along with his burden till he came to the cave. Meanwhile the boy's father and mother awoke, and sat up listening for the boy. But hearing nothing, they came out and set about looking for him, and soon found him still hanging to the branch of the maradara tree. As for the dwarf, when he reached the cave, he set down the coco-nut leaf mat, and, as soon as he was inside, said "*Kokomo wabwa*", "Close up solid, O cave!" And the cave closed up again solid rock. Then he sat down to his meal, but could not see it anywhere, and said to himself, "Now where is that nice little bit of meat for my crunching." Then he jumped up, ran out of the cave, and retraced his steps along the path he had followed; but there was nothing to be found. The name of the village where this happened is Marouna.

(3) *The Stolen Mat* (*North Mwala*)

One day a man went wood-cutting in the forest, and he came to a banyan tree, the home of a *dodore*, and sat down and made a mat from what he found growing there. When he had cut his wood he went home, and spread out his new mat to sleep on, and found it very comfortable. But for two nights in succession he dreamed in his sleep that the *dodore* came to him with his companions, other *dodore*, and they said to him, "Give us back what is ours." But he took no notice of these dreams. The third night they came and carried him away on his mat, but they had not gone far when he woke up. They were frightened, and dropped him, mat and all, nor did they trouble him again in his sleep. These were very small harmless *dodore*, not man-eating ones.

(4) *The Story of Lulumae* (*North Mwala*)

This story was told us by Lulumae himself, and he certainly believes it to be true. "The *dodore*," said Lulumae, "frequently bewitch men so that they become foolish and lose their wits. Sometimes you are only bewitched for a few moments. For example, you climb a tree, leaving your bag near the foot of it, come down again,

and the bag is nowhere to be seen, although you are quite sure you know exactly where you put it. Presently you find it somewhere else close by, where you are sure you did not put it. You may be sure it was some mischievous *dodore*.

" But sometimes it is a more serious matter. One day I went cutting wood in the forest with a number of my people. I was only a small boy, and after a time I wandered off by myself, looking for *siko*, as small boys will. Presently I heard someone near me breaking the boughs of the trees. Of course it was a *dodore*, but I thought it was one of our people and called to him, and when he did not reply, went to look for him. But I could not see anyone ; the sound of breaking boughs was always a little ahead, and I followed. Then my mind became quite confused ; I lost all remembrance of my home and people, and had no thought of returning to them, but went on and on, through a swamp, along streams, up and down, wherever the sound led me, till my wits were quite gone. Only once in all this time did I see the *dodore*. He was very tall, with long, coarse, red hair. All day I wandered about, and at last I sat down on the broken bough of a tree, not knowing who I was or where I was, or who my friends were. In the meanwhile they had missed me, and very soon guessed what had happened, and knew quite well what to do. They took the leaves of certain plants, such as the leaves of the giant caladium leaves which are used for charms, and threw them into the forest, shouting as they did so, 'You, whoever you may be, who have bewitched Lulumae, restore him to us.' Then they set out to search for me, and next day found me ; but I did not know them, and only wondered who they were and what they had come for. No doubt I had disturbed some *dodore*. My people thought it very wonderful that they should find me alive. Many people in Mwala have been bewitched in this manner and never heard of again."

(5) *The Eight Dwarfs* (*South Mwala*)

There were eight very small *mumu* with long hair, and they used to come down to a stream near Sarohaha and lie in wait for men to eat, but only children or impotent folk who could not run away fast enough, and they were very much afraid of anything red. One day a man went to the stream wearing in his hair a red hibiscus flower, and he lay in the water with only the flower visible. The eight little *mumu* smelt him and came running down, but as soon as they saw the red flower they ran away as hard as they could go. Later, however, in the evening, they remembered the pleasant smell, and came down to

the village, where the people were all indoors. They came to this man's house and stood in a row outside, looking in at the people through the cracks. But the people inside saw them, and took the strong hooked midribs of sago palm leaves and gently drew the dwarfs' hair through the cracks in the logs and tied it firmly inside the house, all except the hair of one dwarf who was standing a little way away from the house. Then the people raised a shout and all the dwarfs rushed off, but were dragged back violently by their hair, except the one who had been more cautious. The people ran out and began striking the dwarfs; but blows seemed to have no effect on them till their treacherous mate, standing on the edge of the forest, called out loudly, "Their death is in their buttocks," and the people struck them there, and stabbed them and killed them, seven *mumu*, but the eighth got away.

The *wui* spirits of Raga are very like these *mumu*; "They are seen in rain, have long hair, and sometimes long nails, and appear to be confused with the wild mountain creatures in human form, of whom tales are told in all the islands; for one that Tapera saw not long ago was a Sarivanua of the hills, standing in the rain by a banyan tree, with bananas in his hand. He was like a man with small legs; when spoken to he did not answer, and when struck he did not feel." [1] But perhaps they did not know his vulnerable spot.

(6) *The Capture of the Kakamora* (*Wango*)

One day a man went into the bush to climb for almonds. He climbed the tree, and went along one of the branches and filled his bags. Then he heard the sound of voices far off, and it was the *kakamora* talking to one another on the farther side of the valley. He thought that one of them would climb up to him, and he listened to them to make sure that they were *kakamora*. Then he looked down and saw that they had already reached the foot of the ladder by which he had climbed up. They each had a bag, and began to collect the fallen almonds. Then he slipped down with his bag of nuts, and emptied them out on the ground under the almond tree, and lay down on the other side of the tree. The *kakamora* did not see him come down, and came along saying, "Gather up the green nuts and put them in a roughly plaited basket." Another said, "Gather up the purple ripe nuts and put them in a dirty black bag." Then as they came along picking up the nuts one said, "What is that on the other side of the

[1] Codrington, *The Melanesians*.

tree ? " and they suddenly saw the man who was lying there. But he spread out his legs and arms, and they ran away. Presently they came back. He did not breathe, but pretended to be dead, and some of them began to count his fingers. One of them stood some distance away, but the rest came up and felt all over his body. Then the one who stood some way off said, " There, take care, don't go too close to him, but only look at him." Then they said, " The soles of his feet are like ours, his heels are like ours, his ankle bones are like ours," till they had examined all the different parts of his body, while the one at a distance kept saying, " Take care, stand well away from him and only look." But they finished their examination and came to the hair of his head, and then suddenly started away as he tried to grasp them. However, he had already seized one of them when the others ran away. But the one who had stood far off said to the rest, " Did we not say that this would happen ? " And some of them said, " Let us wait and see what he will do."

Then the man took the one whom he had caught back to the village, and tried to tame her. They wanted to shave her head with a piece of flint, but it would not cut her hair. Then she said,[1] " You and I passed on the path the thing that our people shave with, a long leaf growing close to the ground." The men did not know what she meant, but said, " Perhaps she means the sword grass." " Yes," said she, " that is what I mean ; go and get a blade of that." So they fetched a blade and shaved her head.

Then the man who caught her married her, and they began to make a garden, clearing the undergrowth and cutting down the large trees. Now in this garden of theirs there were numbers of small bamboos, and when they were well dried and withered the two went to burn them, the *kakamora* carrying the bag of money belonging to her husband. They came to the edge of the garden, where he told her to stop, saying, " Stand here and I will go down and burn off the garden. If the fire should spread and come close to you, then get out of its way." The garden began to blaze and the bamboos to crack, and the fire began to come near the woman, so she ran off with the money bag. When the man came back he could not see her, and called out, " Where are you ? " Then she said, " Here I am." " Come here," he cried, and went towards the place whence her voice came, but he could not

[1] The Wango people think the *kakamora* talk in Fagani, a neighbouring language rather different from their own.

see her. Then he cried, " Where are you ? " And she said again, " Here I am." And he followed her again, saying, " Stand still and wait for me " ; but when he got to the place whence he had heard her speak, he still could not see her. This happened several times ; he followed her about till he was tired, and at last called out to her, " Go away now, but when our garden is in bearing, then come and visit it, and I will plant some sugar-cane along the edge for you." Then she went off with the bag of money, and he planted a row of sugar-cane as he had promised along the edge of the garden.

And when the garden was mature she began to visit it, and to chew the centre shoots of the sugar-cane. He came also and noticed that she had already chewed one plant. On another day he noticed that she had been there again. A third time he came and set a trap in a clump of cane, and she came again, wishing for some more sugar-cane, and fell into the trap. She saw the insects crawling near her, and said to them, " Let me free, I pray you, from this trap," but they would not. She heard the pigs grunting, and said to them, " Let me free, I pray you, from this trap," but they took no notice. She saw the birds, singing in the trees, and said to them, " Let me free, I pray you, from this trap," but they sang on unheeding. So she died.

Then the man came to see his trap, and there she lay dead in it, and he set her free, and threw her dead body out into the bush, far from his garden ; and then he went back to his village with his money-bag, rejoicing at its recovery.

CHAPTER XII

MASAI TALES

THERE is a body of tales in San Cristoval of people whom they call *masi* or *a masi*. The word *masi* apparently means foolish. A person who does anything carelessly or badly is told that he is *a inuni masi*, a stupid man, and the article *a* shows the word is not a proper name, which would be *o masi*. Nevertheless, the people called *a masi* in the tales form as it were a tribe by themselves ; their villages, now uninhabited, are pointed out ; none of them is seen nowadays. The tales of them may be said to be the favourite tales of story tellers sitting round the fires at night. They are sure to raise a laugh. They take the place of the Qat tales of the Banks Islands in this respect. Every tale has for its point the stupidity or the ignorance of the *masi*. As a rule no names are known : " a certain *masi* " did so and so. But in many of the tales one of them is represented as wise, or at least wiser than his brethren, and rather fond of leading them into difficulties. Many of the tales lead to the death of all the *masi* concerned, so no wonder they have become extinct. No tales like these seem to be told in the Banks Islands, though some places are pointed out there where the people were stupid and never did anything in the right way, burning down their coco-nuts, for instance, when they were clearing the land for their gardens. As in other matters, the people of Ulawa and Mwala share these tales with the people of San Cristoval, and the same name is used. The *masi* must be distinguished from the small, long-haired people living in holes and caves, who could not make a fire, and planted no gardens, and were, indeed, hardly human. The *masi* were men in all respects like the Melanesians themselves, except in their ignorance of the commonest matters and their general lack of understanding. Of the tales which follow, two are given in the original, the bush language of Kufé.

(1) *The* Masi *go to a Feast*

The village where they lived was called Gefarisi, but now there are only piles of stones to show where it was. They set out one day to go to Maewo, where a feast was being held. When they had gone part of the way they heard the frogs croaking in a pool, and thought it was the people of a large village making a great feast. So one of them said to the rest, " Let some of us go on to the feast at Maewo, and the others remain here." So some of them went on to the feast at Maewo, and the rest remained staring at the pool in which the frogs were croaking, and there they continued to stand till the light of the dawn fell upon them, but they got no pudding at all to take away with them, while the others who went to the feast at Maewo got plenty.

(2) *The* Masi *who married a Frog*

He was following the course of a stream and looking for eels when he came upon a frog, and he said to himself, " This frog shall be my wife," and took her home to his house. And when he got home he hung up the roots of taro from his garden, and set about lighting his fire, and threw to the frog some roots, and put them on the fire and said to her, " Do you bake these roots over the fire for our meal," and then he went out, leaving the frog sitting by the fire where the taro was cooking. He went to the men's house and sat there a long while chewing his betel nut, trusting to the frog's cooking his meal for him ; and after a long while, feeling hungry, he went back to his house to eat the meal prepared, but when he got there all he saw was the taro burned to cinders. This made him angry, and finding the frog he struck her and drove her outside, when she went and hid inside a large stone. Presently the *masi* went to look for her, and finding the stone in which she was hidden he addressed it, saying, " Where is your daughter ? If she is with you you must give her to me," to which the stone made no reply. This made the *masi* very angry, and he said to the stone, " Very well, you refuse to speak. I shall have to make you," after which he went home and got his spear and shield. " Now," he said, when he reached the stone once more, " you must give up your daughter to me or I shall kill you." The stone made no reply, whereupon the *masi* took his spear and broke it to pieces on the stone, and also his shield, which was in the form of a club.[1] Finding he made no impression on the stone he gave way to despair, and returned home without his wife, the frog, whom he saw no more.

[1] The San Cristoval paddle-shaped club is used as a shield.

(3) *The* Masi *who married a Dog*

This *masi* was married to a dog. One day he went to the woods to gather almonds, and said to the dog who was with him that she was to break them open with a stone, but the dog only stared at him. So he broke them up for himself, and when he had finished doing so, he said to the dog that she was to bake some food for them, but the dog only stared at him. So he had to bake the food for himself, and when that was done he said to the dog that she was to go and fill the bamboo with water from the stream, but the dog only stared at him. " Very well," said the *masi*, " you must bake the food, and I will go and draw the water," and he gave her the kernels of the nuts and told her to pick out the best ones. But when she saw the man was gone she ate up the kernels, about which he had just given her directions. When the man came back he saw the fire for the taro still burning, and said to the dog, " Why ever didn't you peel the taro roots ? " and began to peel them for himself, and then he asked her about the kernels of the almonds, " Where have you put them ? " But the dog only stared at him. " Well," said the *masi*, " are you deaf ? " and struck the dog, who ran out of the house. He went to look for her, and she came back into the house, where he found her, and asked her again about the almonds, and when she said nothing in reply he killed her.

(4) *The* Masi *who met an Opossum*

One of the *masi* who was walking in the forest saw a tree on which was an opossum and its young one. Said he, " Wait here, my dear mother and sister, while I go home and get food for you, and some shell money." So he went to his house and got a drinking coco-nut and some pudding, and some shell money to put round their necks, and returned to the tree, but they were gone. Instead of them there was a large tree-frog. Said the *masi*, " Well, Pworeo " (for that was what he called the frog, a name of his own invention), " well, Pworeo, where have my mother and sister gone, you must, no doubt, have seen them ? " The frog made no reply, and, being frightened, began to crawl up the tree. But he crawled after it, gazing at it over the coco-nut and the pudding, which he held in front of him, and saying over and over again, " Pworeo, Pworeo, come now, tell me where my mother and sister have gone." So they crawled up the tree, the frog retreating before him, till at last it retreated to a thin branch which could not bear his weight. But he crawled along it, saying, " Come now, Pworeo, do tell me where my mother and sister have gone," and the branch broke, and he fell and was killed.

(5) *The* Masi *and the* Pohui

One day the *masi* were sitting together in their village, talking, when they heard a bird called a *pohui* calling from a neighbouring tree. One of the *masi*, who was wiser than the others, said, " He is calling us names because we have given him no portion of our food, no nuts, and no yams or taro. So he made each of them put a portion of food in a bag, which he said he would give to the *pohui* to satisfy it. But he took the bag and emptied out the contents in his house, and hid the different kinds of food, replacing them by leaves till the bag was full again. Then he hung the bag on a branch of the tree where the *pohui* was, and after a while went and brought it to the others, saying, " See, the *pohui* has eaten all the food we gave it, there is nothing left but leaves." But the *pohui* still continued to call, so he said to the others, " He is still angry with us, we must leave our village." This they did, and went and made a platform high up on the branches of a tree, where they thought the *pohui* would not see them ; and with great toil they dragged up their possessions, even their heavy drums made of tree trunks. When they were all safely lodged on the platform, the wise one said, " Now let us make a fire, for the night will be chilly." So they made a fire, not on stones, but on the platform itself, which caught fire, and all of them were burnt to death, except the wise one, who climbed down by a creeper and took possession of the village and what was left of their possessions.

(6) *The* Masi *are frightened by a Fish*

The *masi* one day went fishing on the roof, and after a time one of them caught a large red fish, a fish which makes a noise like grunting. The one who was wise stowed the fish into his bag, and by and by, when they were on the road home, the fish in the bag began to grunt. Then they all cried out that it was a ghost—so they said, " Brothers ! a ghost, a ghost ! " and they all began to run. They ran till they came to a tree covered with a white-blossoming orchid, and as they ran they kept saying, " It's a ghost, it will eat us all." So they all began to climb, but they merely kept striking their heads against the boughs, and crying out, " It's the sky we are striking," and that was all they did. Then the first who climbed jumped down again to the ground and was killed, and so they each did in turn down to the last. But the last one was the only one who was not killed ; he was the wise one, and he it was who stowed the red fish away in his basket.

(7) *The* Masi *dive for the Sunbeam*

Some of the Masi who lived by the seashore found some bait used for catching porpoises, so they said to one another, " Come, let us launch our large canoe and see if we can catch a porpoise." So they launched their canoe and took their places in it and began to paddle, saying to one another, " Paddle swiftly, paddle swiftly." Those who embarked in the canoe were six in number. Then the first one who had taken his place in the canoe happened to look down into the water beneath him, and there he saw a sunbeam. " Friends," said he, " down there there is a mother-of-pearl crescent-shaped ornament which we can get for ourselves ; don't paddle hard, but all back-water with your paddles." They all sat very still, and looking down into the water underneath they saw the sunbeam. " Yes, yes, a mother-of-pearl ornament which we can certainly get." So they said, and the leader said to the rest, " I'll dive down and bring it up to you." Then he jumped over, and the others all kept their paddles stiff so as to steady the canoe, but the leader could not reach the bottom where the sunbeam was. So the second said, " Well, keep your paddles stiff, and I'll try what I can do ; surely I can reach it." But he could not, nor could any of them, though they all tried in turn. So they said to one another, " Come along, comrades, let us paddle back to the shore." Back they went to the shore and searched for stones with a hole through them, and tough creepers to tie to them, and then, each taking a stone, they once more embarked in their canoe. The next thing was to paddle out again to the deep water, and there they saw the sunbeam again, just the same as before. " There it is, comrades," cried the leader, " steady the canoe, and I'll go down." When the canoe was steady they tied a large stone to his foot, while he said to them, " You wait about here a long time, for I shan't come quickly to the surface again, no doubt I shall have some trouble with that bit of mother-of-pearl." Well, they let him down over the side, and down he went, down and down, deeper and deeper, but he never came up again. They waited about, watching the bubbles floating up to the surface in the spot where he dived, and saying to one another, " He's sure to get it." After a time the second one says, " Well, he seems to be a long time, I'll dive down too and give him a hand." So he, too, has a stone tied to his foot, and is let down over the side, and goes down and down, deeper and deeper, while they say to one another, " The two of them are sure to get it." And when he, too, does not return, they all do the same as those two had done, one after

the other ; not one lived to tell the tale, nothing ever came up again but bubbles, where the *masi* were drowned diving for the sunbeam.

(8) *The* Masi *go on a Voyage*

One day the *masi* decided to go for a voyage. They got a stout rope and tied the stern of their canoe to a large tree on the brow of the cliff. Then the one who was to do the steering said to the others, " All of you get in, and get out your paddles and sit ready." This they all did, and put into the canoe, too, all their possessions, and all got into it and sat ready. Then said the leader, " When I get in, all of you begin to paddle," and then, getting in, he cried, " Come, off we go," and they all began to paddle and the rope was cut through, and down they all fell together to the bottom of the cliff and were all crushed to pieces, and lay dead at the foot of the cliff Mamarawa.

(9) *The* Masi *who climbed for Nuts*

One day one of the *masi* went to the almond tree to get the nuts. He chose a long bamboo to take up with him to break off the nuts, and tied a string to the bamboo so as to draw it up after him when he had reached the branches, but the bamboo he chose was one still growing in the ground. He climbed up and tugged at the bamboo, but he tugged in vain, for the bamboo was fast in the ground. So he climbed down again and searched carefully along the bamboo to see why he couldn't draw it up. He found some ants on it. " So it's you, is it ? " said the *masi,* and carefully killed the ants and climbed up again, but the bamboo held fast. Down he climbed again and found a butterfly on the bamboo. " So it's you all the time, is it ? " said the *masi,* and drove away the butterfly. He tried again and again to pull up the bamboo, and again and again came down and drove away what he found on it. At last he asked the wise one, " What is the matter ? " " Why," said he, " the bamboo is growing in the ground ; cut the root." But the *masi* in trying to cut the root cut off his legs, and was killed.

(10) *The* Masi *cook a Fish*

There were eight *masi* living in their village, Oloolo, near Hulihuli, and one day they went down to a stream called Waipaina to buy a fish which the people used to catch there, a fish called *a'are.* They bought one, asked the name of it, and were told it was *a'are,* but on the way home they could not remember what the fish was called, so they all went back to ask the name again. When they got nearly home they found they had forgotten the name again, so they returned once more.

This happened eight times. At last, the ninth time, they managed to remember the name. When they got home, they got an enormous bowl for their one fish, and poured four bamboos of water into the bowl and cooked their dinner. When it was done they all sat round the bowl and drank up the water till the bowl was dry. In doing so one of them swallowed the fish. When the bowl was dry they stared about them in surprise. " Why," said they, " where is our fish ? " Then the one who had swallowed it said to the others, " I rather fancy it is inside me ; I felt something hard going down." " Well," said they, " in that case we must look for it there," and they held him firmly and cut him open, and there sure enough was their fish. They did not understand that they had killed their fellow, and took and cooked the fish once more. When all was ready they said, " Wake him up ; he is still sleeping, poor fellow ; he is tired, no doubt." But they could not wake him. " Well, let him sleep," said they, and waited a day and a night, till the corpse began to smell. " Why," said they, " he must be dead ; whatever can have killed him ? It certainly is very strange."

CHAPTER XIII

WONDER TALES

THE following are "wonder" tales which do not tell of *adaro* or *figona*, but of men, heroes of old times, ogres and ogresses. The first tale is that of the hero Warohunugamwanehaora.[1] It is interesting not only because it shows how full these native stories are of the marvellous, even when they include no *adaro* or *figona*, but also because it is clearly the San Cristoval version of the Banks Island story of Qat. It certainly is not the result of any recent intercommunication, and indeed it is much too different to be so. In this tale the San Cristoval Qat is not a spirit at all, but merely a man, yet his feats were certainly more than mortal. Andrew Lang has suggested that Qat the spirit and Qat the hero have been confused in native accounts. Indeed the New Hebrides people, while they had heard of Qat, considered him only a great man of old times, very high in the secret society. Qat is in many ways not unlike Maui the Polynesian hero, who also, perhaps, is a composite character, made up from several tales, and really a hero of old time. Warohunuga is a man of old times, of the times which produced also the giant Rapuanate and the hero Mauua, who fished up the island of Ulawa from the bottom of the sea. But that Warohunuga is Qat in San Cristoval dress cannot be doubted. He was the youngest of a band of brothers, he grew up as soon as he was born and did wonderful feats, which caused his elder brothers to envy and hate him and try to compass his death. Even details are the same. One of the brothers, having persuaded Warohunuga to climb a tree, causes the tree to lengthen by a charm, so that he could not descend from it. But Warohunuga makes the tree bend down a long way off and descends safely. So Qat's brother charmed a tree to make it swell; and in another Qat tale, the tree on which Qat stands lengthens, bends, and he comes down on another island.

[1] Cf. Ivens, op. cit.

(1) *Warohunugaraiia and Warohunugamwanehaora* (*Ugi*)

In old times a family of brothers were living together, the eldest of whom was named Warohunugaraiia. The brothers began to build a new canoe-house, and while they were still building it another brother was born whose name was Warohunugamwanehaora. He grew up immediately and went off to see his brothers, with the umbilical cord still unsevered and coiled round and round his neck. At this time the brothers had just begun to build. They had put up the centre posts and were now trying to get the ridge pole into position, but up to this time no one knew how to hollow out the tops of the main posts, so that the ridge pole should lie firmly and evenly upon them. The brothers had merely cut down trees and set them up with square tops, and as often as they got the ridge up and shook the posts it fell down again. " Why is this," said the brothers to one another, " what can be the matter with our ridge pole ? " While they were debating the matter, their youngest brother was on the way to them, and as he came along the path, a dog, attracted by the smell of the newly-born Warohunugamwanehaora, ran out after him. The dog came up from behind and the sun was shining on Warohunugamwanehaora's back, casting shadows in front of him, and suddenly he stopped and stared earnestly at the shadow of the dog's head on the ground, with the two ears sticking up, one on each side. Then he went on again to his brothers. But they were not at all pleased to see him. " What do you want here ? " they cried to him, " you will be sure to bring some bad luck on our new canoe-house. Off home with you to the village." " I only want to look at your work," said Warohunuga, " there seems to be something the matter with your ridge pole." The ridge pole was lying on the ground where it had fallen, and Warohunuga went up to it and examined it and the main posts, and then taking an adze he cut the tops of the posts to represent the dog's ears as he had seen them in the shadow, just as all main posts are cut nowadays. " Now," said he, " put up your ridge pole again and shake it as much as you like, it will never fall." And so they did, and found when they hoisted it up once more that it lay firmly and evenly in the hollows of the posts. But they began to hate their youngest brother Warohunugamwanehaora. The main posts and the ridge pole were now finished, but they still had to put up the side posts and the wall plate, and the same thing happened as before. They put them up a good many times and the least shake made the wall plate fall. At last their youngest brother offered to

help them, and taking his adze, he adzed the tops of the side posts as he had the tops of the main posts, like the shadow of the dog's head on the path. His brothers had to admit his cleverness, but they disliked him none the less, and laughed at him, saying, " That is all very well, you have carved the tops of the posts, but let us see you go and get a post yourself, and set it up in its accustomed place in front of the canoe-house." So Warohunuga went off into the forest, and came across a *hata*, a very large tree, and he pulled it out, roots and all, and took it back to his brothers. He dug no hole, but simply drove the tree into the ground with great force, and there it stood firmly, branches and all. The brothers remarked to one another that they would like to eat him, but the eldest, Warohunugaraiia, said to the others, " Never mind, I know how to settle him ; all of you must begin digging the holes for the posts on the other side, dig them deep and we will see whether we cannot get rid of him somehow." So the brothers dug the holes, and when the first of them was very deep, Warohunugaraiia said to Warohunugamwanehaora, " Get down into this hole and scoop the earth out with your hands." The hole was rather narrow, but he got down into it. " Now," said the eldest brother to the rest, " take up the biggest post, all of you, and let it down into the hole on top of him." So they all lifted the heaviest post and let it fall into the hole on top of Warohunugamwanehaora. As they did so a voice said to them from the top of the post, " Let it down carefully, that's right " ; and there was Warohunugamwanehaora perched on the top of the post looking down on them. His brothers stared at him without saying a word, and finished the canoe-house, thatching the roof without saying anything more to Warohunugamwanehaora.

But when it was finished they said to one another, " We must kill him some other way," and at last the eldest said to them, " We will take our canoes and go out in them, two of us in each canoe, and I will go with him ; we shall say we are going to look for a giant clam, and when we get near it, leave the rest to me."

So they announced to all the village that they wished to get a giant clam shell, and all got down their canoes, the brothers among the rest, and Warohunugaraiia said to Warohunugamwanehaora, " Come with me, we will go together in my new canoe." So all the canoes paddled out to look for the giant clam, and when they got near it, it was such an enormous clam that all the canoes sheered off in fear, lest it should close upon them. But the one canoe, in which the two brothers were, kept straight on towards the clam, and soon got to

where it was, for they were well able to see it, looking down on it through the clear water. " Jump down and bring it up," said Warohunugaraiia to Warohunugamwanehaora. Now Warohunugamwanehaora had been chewing betel nut, and the red liquor was still in his mouth. He jumped overboard and dived deep, and as he did so he spat out the red juice, and all the waters were stained blood red. His brother was sure the clam had seized him and was tearing him to pieces, and paddled off as fast as he could go to the rest, shouting to his brothers, " Cheer, brothers, cheer, Warohunugamwanehaora is dead at the bottom of the sea," and they all raised a shout of triumph and paddled home.

Meanwhile Warohunugamwanehaora took the giant clam and swam under water with it to the landing place, which he reached long before the others in the canoes. He carried the clam to the canoe-house and set it up in front, and went and sat down inside in the shadow. Presently, the brothers landed, and came up talking about the success of their plan, when suddenly they saw the clam in front of the house, close to them. They stared at it, wondering how it could have got there, and a voice came to them from the shadow inside the canoe-house, saying, " Well, brothers, you have been very slow, I have been back a long time with the clam," and there was Warohunugamwanehaora sitting inside. " It's he," said they to one another, " but how did he get here ? " They said nothing more, and the clam was cooked, and a great feast made in honour of the killing, and when it was all eaten the brothers met to consider what they should do next.

At last Warohunugaraiia said to his brothers, " We will all go out again in our canoes to catch an *ulahu*, a large man-eating fish, and I will take him with me as before in my canoe, and we shall see what will happen." So they told the people of the village, and they all took their canoes and paddled out to sea, Warohunugaraiia and Warohunugamwanehaora in the first. When they got near the *ulahu* it was so large that all the other canoes paddled off to a distance, but the two brothers kept straight on. Warohunugaraiia said to his brother, " Land on the reef, and go along to the *ulahu* and see if you can catch it." So he went along the reef, but he had put a sharp piece of obsidian in his mouth, unknown to the others. When he got near, the man-eating *ulahu* jumped at him, and seized him in sight of everybody. " Cheer, brothers, cheer, for Warohunugamwanehaora is dead," shouted Warohunugaraiia, paddling off to the rest.

Meanwhile the *ulahu* had swallowed Warohunugamwanehaora, but he cut his way out through the belly, and swam rapidly under water

with the great fish till he came to the landing place. He set it up in front of the canoe-house, and sat down in the shadow as before, waiting for his brothers. They came up, talking of his death, when suddenly they saw the fish in front of them. They stopped staring at it, when a voice came from the shadow, saying, " Well, brothers, I have been waiting for you some time, there is our fish " ; but they had nothing to say. The fish was cooked and a great feast made ; and when it was all eaten the brothers met together again.

When they had all discussed different plans, Warohunugaraiia said to the rest, " Let us take him up into the hills to the place where the great wild boar lives, and when it comes out to us we will all run away and leave him alone." This was a famous boar of enormous size and strength, so old that bamboos growing out of the dirt on its head were tall and thick, and no man in all those parts dared venture near the hill where it lived. So the brothers set out, taking Warohunugamwanehaora, and when they got near they saw the boar coming at them in the distance, and all were afraid. Then Warohunugaraiia said to Warohunugamwanehaora, " Go up and kill it," and Warohunugamwanehaora had no fear of it, but went forward, carrying in his hand a coco-nut. The wild boar saw him and charged, but he held out the coco-nut, and while the boar seized it he managed to spear and kill it. Meanwhile the brothers had all run home, thinking all was over with Warohunugamwanehaora, but he took the boar on his shoulders and ran home fast through the woods, and got there before his brothers, and set the pig before the house. When they got home, talking to one another about his death, they suddenly saw the pig, and stared at it in astonishment. " Well, brothers," said a voice from the shadow, " where have you been all this while, I have been back some time ? " The brothers had nothing to say, so the pig was cooked and a great feast made, and when it was all eaten, the brothers met together again.

" Well," said Warohunugaraiia, the eldest, " we must kill him with a charm. We will get him to go with us to get betel nut, and when we get to the tree I shall tell him to go up and get us something, and then we will charm the tree and get rid of him." So they went off to get the betel nut, taking Warohunugamwanehaora, and when they got to the tree they sent him up. Then Warohunugaraiia stood at the foot and pronounced a charm, and the betel nut tree lengthened and grew taller and taller, and carried Warohunugamwanehaora up into the sky till he was lost to sight. Then the brothers gave a great cheer and went home. Meanwhile Warohunugamwanehaora plucked a

bunch of nuts, and with a charm made the tree bend over till it bent down before his home. Then he got off and sat down to wait for his brothers, chewing betel nut. They were still a long way off, but at last they came out from the path before the house, and there was Warohunugamwanehaora, chewing betel nut, and waiting for them. " Well, brothers," said he, " here you are at last ; I came home without waiting for you." But the brothers had nothing to say.

When the brothers met together again, the eldest said to the rest, " I see the only plan is to kill him ourselves ; let us make a big oven and throw him in and cook and eat him." To this they all agreed. The eldest made Warohunugamwanehaora help them, and they dug a large oven, and made him collect firewood and pile it on top till the fire was very hot. " Take off the fire," said the eldest to Warohunugamwanehaora ; he did so. " Put two leaves at the bottom " ; he did so, after removing the stones above. Warohunugaraiia then seized his brother and threw him in, and all the brothers hastily threw the hot stones on top and piled them up and sat watching the oven, talking gaily about the coming feast. Presently they heard something crack. " That's his eye," said they. Presently they heard something crack again. " That's his other eye," said they ; " he must be about cooked by now." " Let us make quite sure," said Warohunugaraiia, " when we touch the stones and they are quite cold to the touch we will open the oven, but not before." So they all sat round and waited for a long while, till at last the stones were cold enough for them to put their hands on them, and then they opened the oven. It had been so hot that even the stones were cooked and quite soft, but as they removed the last a voice behind them said, " Is it quite cooked, brothers ? " and there was Warohunugamwanehaora sitting behind them, looking on. Then Warohunugamwanehaora got up and came to Warohunugaraiia, for he had become annoyed at the continued attempts on his life, and coming up to him, he said, " You do nothing but try to take my life, whereas I have never tried to harm you, but now it is my turn." Then he made a small oven, and took only a small amount of firewood, and heated it to a gentle heat. He removed the fire, and said to his brother, " Lie down in the oven." He did so, thinking no harm could come to him in such an oven. Warohunugamwanehaora piled on the stones, but did not wait long, and soon took them off and opened the oven, and there lay Warohunugaraiia done to a turn ; and Warohunugamwanehaora and his brothers ate him.

The Story of Kamusigauwi (*Kufe*)

Kamusigauwi (Madam Claw Finger) lived near the village of Hunahau. In a neighbouring village lived a man and his wife, and they had a son. The woman used to frighten her little son when he cried by saying to him, " If you cry, Kamusigauwi will hear you and come and eat you." One day the man and woman left their son in the bush and he cried, and Kamusigauwi heard him crying and came up and ate him. She took the entrails and hung them up on the branch of a tree which overhung the path, saying, " If your father and mother pass by this way, drip blood on them, otherwise not." Presently they came by and the blood dripped on them and they knew it was their son and that he had been eaten by Kamusigauwi. Soon afterwards the dead boy's two brothers were playing with the other children in the village and began to hit them. Said the children, " It is easy to hit us, but you are afraid to revenge the death of your brother on Kamusigauwi." So they set off and gathered nuts and rattan and sticks near the village of Kamusigauwi and then came into the men's house there. Kamusigauwi heard they had come and went to the men's house and tried to persuade them to sleep with her in her house, but they refused. Presently they climbed for coco-nuts and when they came down Kamusigauwi was standing by and said, " There is a stick to husk your nuts with," but when they came to it, it was a snake. Then they took their coco-nuts into the men's house and one slept while the other watched. Kamusigauwi came to them and gave them a pudding to eat in which she had cooked the finger of their dead brother but they refused to eat the food she offered them. Again one slept while the other kept watch. Kamusigauwi came and tried to climb in under the eaves, but the brother who was on watch threw coco-nuts at her. Several times during the night she tried to climb in, but was always driven back by coco-nuts. In the morning she came to them and asked them to pick the bugs out of her hair. They agreed to do so, but instead of biting the bugs as people do, they bit nuts and deceived her. At last she became weary and went to sleep. Then the brothers tied her up firmly with a good stout rope, carried her to her house and staked her down to the ground in the middle of the floor. When she woke they set fire to the house and burnt her alive.

The Ogre and the Boy (*Rumatari*)

One day two boys were climbing an apple-tree, and while they were still among the branches, a man-eating ogre came and stood under the

tree and said to the boys, " Throw me down some apples," but they refused. " Very well." said the ogre, " I shall eat you instead." The boys tried to climb out of reach along the branches, but a branch broke and one of them fell to the ground. The ogre seized him and dragged him off to his house, where he shut him up till it should be time to cook the meal, and when he went out to get yams and taro to eat with him, he told his son to look after their dinner. When they were left alone, the captive said to the ogre's son, " Do you see that pretty bird out there, just go and get it for me." " No, no," said the ogre's son, " you will run away while I am gone." Presently the boy said to him, " Where is your mother's bed ? " " Over there," said the ogre's son. " Where is your father's ? " " Over here," said he. " And where is yours ? " said the boy, " Here, close beside me," said the ogre's son. " Lie on it and let me see," said the boy. But as soon as he lay down on it the boy sprang upon him, killed him, cooked him, and took his entrails to wash in the stream close by. No sooner had he gone than the ogre returned, smelt the human flesh cooking in the oven, and heard the boy washing his son's entrails in the stream, with a sound like a person flapping water. Thinking it was his son, he called out, " Come along, my son, or you'll be too late for dinner," and with that opened the oven and ate the right eye of his son. Then he knew he had eaten his own son, and, crying out, he rushed after the boy. But the boy made a fire, and when the ogre came near he ascended in the smoke. The ogre came to the fire and poked about in the ashes, but could find nothing. As for the other boy, he returned home and said to his father and mother, " An ogre has seized my brother, but I don't know whether he has eaten him or not."

Rapuanate and the Wars of the Three Sisters (Ugi)

The following tales of Rapuanate, the giant, who lived on Marau Raro, one of the islands called the Three Sisters, differ from the foregoing in that they are largely history. There can be little doubt that such wars really happened, and that Rapuanate really lived. Some time must have elapsed, for though the Three Sisters were inhabited when the Spaniards visited the group in 1567, for more than sixty years at least thay have been deserted. Moreover, in the tales, the bow and arrow are as prominent in war as the spear, but this state of things has long passed away, and neither of us has ever seen a war-bow, either on the coast or inland. When the Spaniards visited San Cristoval the same state of things prevailed as that described in the tales. In

some respects Rapuanate resembles Orormal, the gigantic hero of the Banks Islands. Both were giants. Rapuanate's thigh bone may still be seen at Marau Raro, his home, and is said to be the size of the main post of a house. His canoe was enormous. The canoe of Orormal was so large that it stuck in the passage between the island Ravenga and Vanua Lava. The stone that he cracked his nuts with is still to be seen at Rowa and weighs half a ton. Both were great fighting men and killed numbers of people. Both went on a voyage to buy winds, Orormal to Maewo, where he bought wind and rain, and Rapuanate (in some stories) to Malaita for the same purpose. The introduction of mosquitoes into their islands is ascribed to both. Orormal brought them from Maewo in a bamboo, and when his canoe stuck, the bamboo was overturned and the mosquitoes got out, which is why there are so many at Vanua Lava. Rapuanate went to Ulawa, not long fished up from the sea by Mauua, and brought the mosquitoes from there in a bamboo, in order to keep his followers awake at nights, since his enemies were so many that a watch was always necessary.

The stories of Rapuanate were told us by an old man named Liohaa. He is a famous tale-teller and wherever he goes people collect to listen to his tales. The old man, now becoming infirm, sits on his mat as he tells the tales, the boys who have collected round him drinking in his words and uttering exclamations from time to time. As he tells of the great deeds of the hero his eyes flash, his voice kindles, and he lifts his right hand as he shouts aloud the brave words of Rapuanate. One feels one has seen a story-teller as he ought to be, not writing in a book, but giving life and colour to the story with voice and gesture.

There is no better method for getting true information about natives than that of listening to their stories. Every native has a story to tell. Another advantage is that boys are as good as old men in this respect, or even better in many cases, as they have freshly heard the stories from their mothers. Some boys know quite a number of tales. In this way many things are mentioned, about which the natives might otherwise be reticent ; and if the story-teller is not interrupted he may be questioned afterwards about certain customs he has mentioned in the course of his story, which he will willingly try to explain to make the story clear. For example, in these Rapuanate stories, we learnt of a sacrifice quite new to us, that of a coco-nut on landing from a voyage. When the canoe touches the shore, the first duty is to climb a coco-nut-tree. Only one nut is taken, each of the voyagers touches it, and it is put in the bow of the canoe and left there, after which the travellers

may eat food. In the stories many customs that have died out are referred to, customs which one would not be likely to hear of in any other way.

The following stories relate to Marauraro (Rapuanate's home), Maraupaina, Ariite, the three islands now called the Three Sisters, and Teonimanu, the submerged island half-way between Ariite and Ulawa, where there is now shoal water only seven fathoms deep. One story tells of the destruction of this island.

The War with Maraupaina[1]

The name of Rapuanate's father was Poroirohatautauwaiau; his mother's name was Huaaratanapwalo. His eldest, and his favourite brother was named Rohimanu, the second brother Ruairokalani, and the third Ruawaliata. Rohimanu was married to Pwaholasau. Rapuanate was not yet married. He and his brothers were passing through the period of seclusion (*maraufu*), learning to catch bonito. They could not have any intercourse with women for a year. One day the brothers went fishing, and landed at Maraupaina. The people of the place welcomed them, and they said to one another, "Who will climb the coco-nut-tree to get the nut for the landing sacrifice?" But the tree was covered with hornets' nests, and no one could climb it. Rapuanate's brothers would not; Kalitalu of Teonimanu refused, so did Sohoimanu of Mwala and Ruangangataiealuawa. At last Rapuanate said he would climb it. He climbed up a little way, but the hornets stung him and he fell back. "You are very brave," said they, "but even you can't do it." Then he climbed half-way up, threw away the climbing line, and climbed unaided to the top, the tree swaying from side to side with his weight. He threw down all the nuts, broke the top off the tree and threw it down, and descended to his brothers. Taraeramo, his bought and adopted brother, broke open the nut; they all touched it and put it in Rapuanate's canoe. Then they all returned to their homes, Kalitalu to Teonimanu, Rapuanate and his brothers to Marauraro, Roraimanu (the young chief of Ariite) to Ariite, and the Mwala chiefs to Mwala. Thus they met together, at the sacrifice as friends, who were to slay one another till the islands were desolate, and hundreds of the people had been killed.

Now when Rapuanate climbed the coco-nut-tree he was seen by two beautiful girls of Maraupaina. He was the last to leave and these

[1] The word *paina*, great, is a common Ulawa word, but is only found in names in San Cristoval, e.g. Takibaina.

two beautiful girls, called Ruatakanie (the two flowers of the tree), followed him about, admitting him and desiring to be his wives. But at this time he was forbidden all intercourse with women, i.e. he was living in the *maraufu* stone house by the shore, and tried to avoid them ; but they stood in his path, and when he embarked they tried to climb into his canoe, his bonito canoe into which no woman may go. Four times this happened, till at last Rapuanate said, " Let them come, they shall be my wives," and he and Rohimanu and Ruatakanie paddled back to Marauraro, where he took the two girls as his wives. But all the women of Marauraro admired Rapuanate, and used to follow him about ; and seeing this, Ruatakanie grew jealous, and one night took a canoe and paddled home to their father, Porongarimwane, taking the splendid strings of shell money which Rapuanate had given them. Now there was a man named Kalimatawarepa, who had relations in all the islands, so that all called him *marau* (mother's brother), and even in time of war he could go backwards and forwards without fear. Him Rapuanate called, and sent to Maraupaina with instructions to bring back Ruatakanie or the shell money ; but neither would Ruatakanie return, nor would they send back the shell necklaces. Then Rapuanate set out himself one night alone, and landed on Maraupaina, where the branch of a tree hangs over the water at Rongofote, and he climbed up into the tree and set his canoe in the branches out of sight, and walked up to the village. There on the platform, before the house of Porongarimwane, he saw Ruatakanie with the youths of the village, and two young chiefs lay with their heads on the bosoms of Ruatakanie, while Rapuanate watched them unseen from the shadow of the wall. Then he took a dracaena leaf, and tied it round his big toe. When he tied tightly they slept heavily, and when he loosed the knot their slumbers grew light. But now he tied the leaf tight, and all the people of Maraupaina slept heavily. He walked hither and thither, but all were sleeping. Then he returned to the house, and stamped with his foot on the platform. " Do you sleep, you two ? Why don't you sleep within the house, Ruatakanie ? " cried Rapuanate. But they heard no sound. Again he stamped his foot and cried aloud, " How is it, Ruatakanie, that you sleep without ? " But they slept on. Then Rapuanate took from his bag a sharp shell, and seized the two young chiefs by their hair, and cut their throats. He put their heads into his bag, and went back to his place in the shadow ; but none of the sleepers so much as stirred in his sleep, for the knot was fast. Then Rapuanate loosed the knot of the dracaena leaf, and the people woke, and Ruata-

kanie started up, for they were covered with blood, and two headless corpses lay beside them. Porongarimwane ran out of the house and quickly divided his people into six bands, led by his brothers, and they spread out, looking for the murderer along the paths. Then Rapuanate came out from the shadows and walked boldly into the midst of the first band, led by Saupurutapia, where he asked if the murderer was found ; and so he went to all the bands, and no one knew him, because it was a dark night and because of his magic, until he came to the last. " Sit down," said he to the captain of the band, " and I will creep out and look for the enemy." So he crept down to his canoe and launched it, and paddled silently out to sea. And when he was already far out, he stopped and called aloud to Porongarimwane, his father-in-law : " I came but to get my shell money. I have done no harm, save that I stumbled on two leaves in my path. Is it peace or war, Porongarimwane ? It shall be whichever you wish." And Porongarimwane answered and said, " You have gone too far, Rapuanate, and now I will do as you wish, and I will destroy you and your people." " Very well," said Rapuanate, " your relations and friends are very many. Send messengers and call them to your aid. As for me, I shall not call in my friends and relations at Ulawa and Teonimanu ; but I and my people, one hundred and sixty, will wait for you within the bounds of our village."

Then the people of Maraupaina equipped thirty war canoes and set out for Marauraro, and the people of Marauraro set out in twenty canoes led by Rohimanu, but Rapuanate himself took no part as yet in the war. They met between the two islands in the open sea, and the people with Rohimanu wounded ten men and killed two of the enemy, who fled in their canoes back to Maraupaina. But in all this Rapuanate had no share. Then Porongarimwane put out money all along the north-east coast of San Cristoval, from Bauro eastward, and told all his friends to assemble in ten days' time. Presently they began to arrive in their canoes, till two hundred canoes were drawn up on the beach at Maraupaina, and two thousand fighting men were assembled to attack Rapuanate at Marauraro. A Maraupaina man, secretly friendly to Rapuanate, went in the night to Marauraro and told them of the plans of the enemy, and warned them to keep good watch on the two following nights. Next day before they set out Porongarimwane sacrificed, but when he did so the sky darkened, the thunder crashed, and a great storm of wind and rain passed over them. As night fell the two hundred canoes paddled quietly away for Marauraro.

Early next morning Rohimanu rose and went out of his house with his wife. Two spears flashed by and stuck into the wall of his house, the first spears of the fight. "The enemy have come at last," said Rohimanu. He and his wife withstood them and gathered together their followers, eighty in number, while eighty remained at Tawaodo with Rapuanate. A thousand of the enemy landed at each end of the island and drove their foes steadily before them till they came to Salukawe. The people of Marauraro then sent a messenger to Rapuanate at Tawaodo, saying, "You sit quietly at home, while we are being defeated and your brother Rohimanu has two arrows and two spears in his body." "What is that?" said Rapuanate, "let him fight awhile. There is nothing much yet. I see no spears or arrows." After a time another messenger came to Tawaodo saying, "The enemy are carrying all before them, and spears and arrows are sticking into the body of your brother, Rohimanu, as thick as the hairs upon his head." "What is that?" said Rapuanate, "let him fight awhile yet." However, he went into his house and took four areca nuts and four leaves for betel chewing, and his famous club, Apohonuwainiora, with a hundred pieces of inlaid mother-of-pearl on each side of it. Then he went outside and threw his club into the air, and such was his strength that he finished chewing his four areca nuts before the club came down again. Then he caught it and struck it once with his great hand, and a hundred mother-of-pearl ornaments fell out to the ground with the force of the blow; again he struck, and again a hundred ornaments fell out; and then with his great club, Apohonuwainiora, he set out for the battle with eighty of his people, while eighty went towards the other band of the enemy, with Taraeramo as their leader. Rapuanate strode along through the shallow water of the lagoon, and before him were the canoes of the enemy following the fight along the shore. They soon saw him, and a great chief named Poroamae exclaimed, "The day has come for him to die," and sprang from the canoe to meet him. So great a man was Poroamae, that when he sprang from the canoe the prow, relieved of his weight, flew up into the air. Then Poroamae began to shoot arrows like a shower of rain, but Rapuanate took no notice and came on to meet him. Poroamae then threw six great spears which struck Rapuanate, but he came on as though untouched. When he came near he kicked up the water in Poroamae's face and taking one of his eight huge spears, he threw it so straight and with such force that it pinned Poroamae to a casuarina-tree. Rapuanate laughed and cried to his people, "Don't kill him, leave

him where he is, he will do no harm," and strode on. Another chief came out against him and shared the fate of Poroamae, and each of his eight spears killed a great chief. Then he took Apohonuwainiora in his hands, and as he went he struck down forty, as he returned he struck down forty more, and then another twenty in one fierce rush at the other end of Marauraro. Taraeramo and his band were doing similar feats of war. With one arrow Taraeramo shot four men. So the battle went, till only two hundred were left alive of the two thousand who set out, and twenty canoes alone went home to Maraupaina of the great fleet that set out the night before. As they fled, Rapuanate cried to his father-in-law, " You have had a welcome to my home, soon I will repay the visit, but no crowds of bought strangers shall go with me, only I and Taraeramo and our men. Wait four days ; on the fifth I shall be with you."

On the fifth day Rapuanate set out in his war-canoe, Tohutalau, with his one hundred and sixty men, and the rest of the men of Marauraro in twenty other canoes. Again he landed at Rongofote and surrounded the village of the enemy in the night. There were only forty men in it, as forty were afraid and had gone off into the bush and hidden themselves. In the morning Rapuanate destroyed and burnt the village and killed everyone in it except Porongarimwane, whom he forbade his followers to harm. Rapuanate then sent his people to find those in hiding while he went down alone to the canoes. As he went his huge body stuck fast between two rocks where the path was narrow, and the enemy, coming up, riddled him with spears, but he caused them all to stick into his belt. Then Porongarimwane cried, " Let him stay where he is, with our spears sticking into him. He will do no more harm." The people of Marauraro now came down to the canoes and embarked, but Taraeramo looked vainly for Rapuanate. " Where," said he, " is Rapuanate ? " " The enemy have killed him," replied his people, and they began to put to sea. But Taraeramo sprang ashore, taking his famous bow, and as he did so, Rohimanu said to him, " Why go to look for him, is he not the cause of all this war ? Let us return." But Taraeramo replied, " Let me but see the place where he died," and went off alone to find him. He came to where Rapuanate stuck fast between the two rocks, with the spears of the enemy sticking into his belt. " Is that you, Rapuanate, are you still living ? " cried Taraeramo. " Yes," replied Rapuanate, " their spears have not hit me." Taraeramo went up behind him and gave him a powerful kick, whereupon Rapuanate, with a struggle, split the rocks that held him.

They went down to the canoes and paddled away from the shore and Rapuanate called to Porongarimwane, " Porongarimwane, is it peace or war ? Choose which you please," and then went home to Marauraro. Porongarimwane sent Kalimatawarepa to Rapuanate, saying, " Let us have peace, you have killed very many of us," and he gave two length of money for Rapuanate ; Rapuanate then sent in return the same amount, and peace was agreed on. " Is he already afraid ? " said Rapuanate, " Did he think I was a child, but let there be peace if he wishes it " ; and he accepted forty fathoms of choice money and ten yards of other shell money. Then he gave the same amount to the four bearers, and the war was ended.

(2) *The Drowning of Teonimanu*

Teonimanu was formerly an island between Ariite and Ulawa, but now it is only Hanua Asi, the land of the sea, and the ghosts of the dead of Teonimanu dance on the beaches by night among the breakers, and are sometimes seen there by living men. This is the story of the drowning of the people of Teonimanu, by the magic of Hualualua, a woman of Mwala.

The people of Bio gave a great feast, not of pigs, but of giant clams, and invited the people of Maraupaina (what was left of them), Marauraro, Ariite, and Teonimanu, and all went to the feast. Rapuanate went and Roraimanu, chief of Ariite, and one of his wives, Paakeni, but his other wife, Sauwete, refused to go, and remained behind at Ariite. But in all the four islands the only chief who did not go was Kalitaalu, who was catching fish for his mother at Maraupaina, a woman fasting from all ordinary food. As he went past Ariite on his way to Maraupaina, Sauwete asked him from the shore where he was going, and he told her. When he came to Maraupaina they stayed one night, and when the people pressed him to stay another night, he replied that he must hasten home to Teonimanu, as he was afraid the enemy might arrive in his absence, but really he was thinking of Sauwete, whom he had seen on the shore, and wished to return to her. They came again to Ariite, and one of them said, " Let us go on to Teonimanu and not land here," but Kalitaalu rejected his counsel, and they landed, and Kalitaalu and Sauwete went off together in talk. When night came, Sauwete spread mats for the travellers, but for Kalitaalu apart by himself ; and in the night they made their plans. As soon as it was day Sauwete took the eight famous bonito hooks of her husband and went off with Kalitaalu to his home in Teonimanu.

Two days later all returned from the feast and Roraimanu found his wife gone and his eight bonito hooks, and sat sad and silent, especially because of the eight hooks, for there were none like them in all the islands. Kalimatawarepa was sent to make inquiries, and he came in his canoe to Teonimanu, and went up to the village of Kalitaalu. Kalitaalu's sister cooked food for them and then Kalimatawarepa asked Kalitaalu to return the hooks and there should be no war. But Kalitaalu refused. " Rather let there be war," said he. So Kalimatawarepa went home and passed on the way Hauarapa, the entrance to the home of the dead, Rodomana ; and came to Ariite and told Roraimanu the result of his visit. Roraimanu listened and sent him back to Kalitaalu. " Tell him," said he, " that if he will only give me back two or three hooks there shall be no war." But Kalitaalu refused. Again Kalimatawarepa made the journey with the message, " Give back but one hook and there shall be no war." " Tell him," said Kalitaalu, " the giant clam has closed on his hooks." " Very well," said Roraimanu, " let him keep them, let him build a canoe-house, let him go and catch bonito." Then Roraimanu called his friends and relations together and they took four strings of choice money and went to Mwala to buy magic. They came to Saa, but went on to Ramarama and past there to a big rock, where they spent the night ; and next day they came to Asitai, where they landed and went inland to Kao, where they had relatives. Roraimanu gave the shell money to Hualualuaikau, a woman full of magic, but she refused the money and would only take a shell chisel. She gave him eight dracaena leaves, and eight coco-nuts, and eight dogs' teeth, and said to them, " Land nowhere till you come to Teonimanu ; eat no food, and take no drink ; bury four of each in Teonimanu, and four sink in the sea ; return to Ariite and on the fifth day look towards Asitai." So they took the magic and went fasting till they came near Teonimanu, and lay on their paddles till the night came on. Then they landed secretly and went up into the bush, and buried four dracaena leaves and four coco-nuts, and four dogs' teeth, and returned to their canoes and paddled off from the land and sank what remained of the magic things. After this they returned to Ariite, and sacrificed a coco-nut, and landed and waited four days. On the fifth day they climbed the hill of Ariite and looked towards Asitai, and a storm was coming up over the sea. Then they saw four great waves coming from the direction of Ulawa, and they rolled over Teonimanu and covered it to the tree tops, and then four other great waves came from Guadalcanar and sank Teonimanu deep under the

sea. Some of the people of Teonimanu floated away on tree trunks to Ulawa and San Cristoval, but these were few. Kalitaalu was drowned and with him Sauwete.[1]

(3) *The War for the* Rao *Belt*

Amaeoo, chief of Alai in Mwala, went on a voyage to Ariite, taking his famous belt of *rao*, flat pear-shaped pieces of shell strung together. Roraimanu welcomed him to Ariite, and the news of his arrival reaching Marauraro, Rohimanu, the brother of Rapuanate, went to Ariite to see the belt. No sooner had he seen it than he determined it must be his. "It is mine," said he, "I must have it, if anyone else desires it he must marry my wife." Amaeoo, however, refused to let him have it and he paddled home very angry to Marauraro. Now Roraimanu also desired the belt, and when his guest was returning to Mwala he persuaded Amaeoo to sell him the belt. Soon after this the men of Ariite, fishing for bonito, chanced to meet the men of Marauraro, who were also out fishing, midway between Marauraro and Ariite. The canoe in which Rapuanate and Rohimanu were sitting passed close to that of Roraimanu, and as they passed Roraimanu was bending over in the act of pulling in a bonito and Rapuanate saw the belt. Instantly Rapuanate stopped the canoe. "Why do you stop the canoe?" cried Rohimanu, "Do you not see we are close to a bonito? We shall lose it." "Why think about bonito," replied Rapuanate, "when the thing which you desire and swore to have is here before your eyes?" They paddled home, but Rohimanu would neither eat nor drink, for his eyes saw nothing but the *rao* belt. After a time Rapuanate said to him, "Well, if you must have the belt I will help you to get it," and, taking his bonito canoe, he paddled off alone one night to Ariite. He landed and went to a betel pepper plant, which Roraimanu had tabooed, which was creeping over a stone near the village. He took stone and all, put them into his canoe and paddled home to Marauraro.

In the morning Roraimanu saw what had happened, and who had stolen the plant and broken his taboo, and sent to all his people to assemble and make war on Marauraro; and that evening ten canoes set off. They landed at midnight and surrounded the village in which Rohi-

[1] If Teonimanu was really destroyed by volcanic forces, there might very likely be a recollection of great waves. The Rev. W. G. Ivens writes of the word *walu*, eight, that it expresses a large number. "*Walu malau*, the world (many islands), *walu ola inau*, all my belongings, etc." *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. xxii, No. 2.

manu lived. That night Pwaholasau, the wife of Rohimanu, dreamed a dream, in which she saw an enemy kill her husband, and waking, she warned Rohimanu to be careful. Rohimanu, however, took no notice of his wife's warning. The Ariite people, who still lay hid in the bush, saw him go to the reef to fish, and surrounding him, killed him, and then all went back to Ariite. They knew that Rapuanate would avenge his brother's death, and decided to flee to Mwala, all the people of Ariite, and accordingly set out in their canoes. First, however, Roraimanu sent Kalimatawarepa to try to make peace with Rapuanate. Rapuanate sent the message, " I must go seeking my brother Rohimanu " ; whereupon the Ariite people embarked. Rapuanate with his three brothers, and Taraeramo steering, went first in one canoe, and his people followed in other canoes, in pursuit of the Ariite people. They came to Ariite and found it deserted, and some proposed to turn back, though they could see the Ariite canoes, far away, making for Mwala. But Rapuanate said, " I must go seeking my brother Rohimanu," and they all followed him. Rapuanate took nothing in his hands but stout poles. When they drew near he threw these with great force, breaking up and sinking the canoes of the enemy, and leaving his followers to spear them as they struggled in the water. All were killed, but they saw one other canoe far ahead, the canoe of Roraimanu, and Rapuanate followed it. When he came near, Roraimanu cried to him, " Spare me, Rapuanate, all my people are dead save these four with me, and my home is destroyed ; why will you take my life ? " " Go unharmed," said Rapuanate, " and live if you will on Mwala, I have no desire to kill you, I am seeking my brother Rohimanu," and he turned back home. Roraimanu came to Mwala, and stayed there for a time with the four men who were with him, but after a time he began to think of home, and longed for Ariite. So he and his followers embarked again in their canoe and went back. When they reached Ariite, Roraimanu sent Kalimatawarepa to Rapuanate, saying, " Tell Rapuanate I have come back, will he accept money and pigs, and make peace with me ? " Kalimatawarepa came to Tawaodo, and saw Rapuanate sitting in front of his house. He gave Roraimanu's message, and Rapuanate replied, " Have I not called him Rohimanu ? No one shall slay him. Tell him to come here on a visit to me, I shall spare him." So Kalimatawarepa went back with his message, and Roraimanu went to Tawaodo. Rapuanate received him in a friendly manner, calling him Rohimanu, the name of his dead brother, and sending Taraeramo with a message to Pwaholasau to " cook some food for

Rohimanu". "Rohimanu!" said Pwaholasau, "Who is he? Rohimanu is dead." "No," said Taraeramo, "he is sitting with Rapuanate; cook his food, and take him some betel pepper." So Pwaholasau cooked his food, and took it and the betel pepper to the canoe-house where they were sitting, and placed it outside by the wall where women put the food for their husbands, and Taraeramo went in and told Rapuanate. Rapuanate turned to Roraimanu and said, "Rohimanu, go and get your food," and as he went out Rapuanate called to Pwaholasau, "That is your husband Rohimanu going out to you, give him his food and betel pepper." And so she did, and Roraimanu took and ate the food, and began to chew the betel pepper. Then Rapuanate said to Pwaholasau, "Go back to your house and make some puddings for Rohimanu." When she had gone, Rapuanate rose and said to Roraimanu, "I thought you would never come back again, but you have, and you have eaten my brother's food and drunk his drink, without understanding that it is my brother you killed," and he sprang upon him and threw him heavily to the ground, where his people dispatched him with clubs. Pwaholasau heard the shouting, and hurried back. "What!" said she, "have you killed Rohimanu?" "I have indeed," replied Rapuanate, "because he could not understand what it was to kill my brother; now you can marry whom you please." Then as they had themselves killed him they paid themselves with ten pigs and 2,000 strings of money. All gave; and then each took what he pleased.

PART II

CHAPTER XIV

BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD

THERE may be said to be three kinds of babies in Arosi, the baby who is born in the purple, a son of the Araha clan, or who is destined to be raised to this position; the baby who is the son of a shark-man, and so is a shark-baby; and the ordinary baby born into one of the dozen bird totem clans. The first of these is called a *gare manimani* " a spared child " or *gare bwauræ* " a highly-prized child ". But before following the career of this baby we can turn first to what happens to all the babies alike.

The first-born baby is called *gare utaora* or *ahubweu* " the unlucky or stupid one ". This baby is immediately buried alive; the father digs a little grave (*'e'eri giru ana*), puts his baby into it, places a large stone on top and firmly stamps down the stone upon the baby. The first-born baby they say will never be strong or clever, and is probably not the son of this man, but of someone else; it is best to kill it at once. But if the baby is an *araha* (chief), or if his father is rich and means to raise his baby to that standing, " to make him great " (*ha'a mwae rahareh'a*), as they say, then he is spared and is a *gare manimani*.

Sometimes the first and second were spared and the third killed, but this was not considered good because, if the first and second were already well grown when the third was killed, any born later would not live more than five or six years. Sometimes alternate babies were killed, but there was the same objection to this. The only two good ways were to kill the first or let them all live. The ordinary words for killing are not used of this baby slaughter, but they use *ngori*, the same word as that used for destroying a man's property when he dies; to kill alternate babies is to *ngori horosi*.

As soon as a baby is born the mother is given cold and hot charmed water to drink, and the baby is washed in cold charmed water. Water plays a great part in customs connected with birth or death. A woman who wished for a child used to drink large quantities of water, and if possible she would bathe in a certain sacred stream which runs out on the south coast. The umbilical cord (*here marau robu*) is cut by one of the attendant women (*ha'ahasusu*), who says to the mother "I cut this for you" (*au tapurua tana'o*). If some other woman wishes to adopt the baby it is she who cuts the cord, and to do so, and also to shave the baby's head, is formally to adopt the child; women will rush off as soon as they hear that birth is near, so as to be ready to do this, for adoption is common. The *'ahui* (after-birth) is buried in the bush, and I never could hear of any more notice being taken of it.

The shaving of the head is done so as to leave a lozenge over the fontanella (*waira*), which is said to be the door by which the spirit comes and goes. At first this lozenge-shaped patch, which is never washed or shorn, is mainly a patch of dirt, but it becomes a patch of hair, a little black tuft. Later on another tuft is allowed to grow farther back on the crown, and also a third on the back of the head in a line with these two. These quaint little black tufts are called *hasipu, hasiku, tahitahi,* or *Komukomu,* the last word meaning "an island" in Malaita, "a village" in Florida, and "a clan" in Bauro; and they are not unlike three little villages or islands, as the rest of the head is kept well shaved all through childhood. In the inland villages the tufts are called *tahitahi.* They are very characteristic of Arosi children. When a boy grows big he lets his hair grow, sometimes keeping more or less the tuft in front; he really ought to keep his head shaved till he comes out of *maraufu*; and a girl does so until she is married.

About a week after birth comes the naming of the baby. There is no ceremony at this time and the name is always chosen by divination, the man skilled in charms, spells, omens, and all occult matters, using one of several different forms of divination to discover what *adaro* (ghost) the child is to be named after. This ghost is a sort of godfather, who wishes the child to be called after him, and will take about the same interest in his godson afterwards, as godfathers generally do; the boy will look to him for protection and ask him for help in any trouble. Sometimes a boy has more than one name given in this way at a later time than the first, when he

has got into some difficulty or fallen ill and needs more ghostly care. I have known a man with six ghostly godfathers, but that I think is the limit. The methods of divination are described elsewhere; the one used in this case is generally knotting and pulling a dracaena leaf to see if it will break ("no") or hold ("yes"); and the ghosts are asked in turn if they are the right godfather or godmother. In Arosi a boy's ghostly namesake is almost always in the first case his father's father, or his mother's brother if the latter is dead; and a girl's is her mother's mother. The important points are that the children are named after the dead, not after the living; that the wishes of the dead are discovered by divination, but seem to be usually as I have mentioned above; and that the ghostly namesakes will be the children's guardians through life. Names are handed down very carefully in this way, and their meaning is often not known now or the word embodied in the name is only found in a neighbouring language, probably showing some old alliance and marriage with people of Malaita, Ulawa, or Guadalcanar. In fact, a good deal of history may lie in these names. Besides the name of an *adaro* a child often gets a nickname for common use to mark something that happened at the time. Or later when he is growing up he is sure to have a nickname with the other children, just as at present all the Wango children have nicknames among themselves, which are not known to the grown-ups; one boy is called *Sina* (the Sun), and his two chums *Sina mwaruru* and *Sina pwaumanu*; another is called *Wakohu* (Dirty) because he never washes, another *Magoru* because he is fond of that shellfish, and another *Kai* (Dog), I don't know why. A boy went through all his school days at Norfolk Island called *Parak* (Rheumatism), which was only a nickname given him by his playmates.

Ordinary children share with the children of Araha a good many food restrictions. At first they must not eat fish or pork. Later they can eat pork and fish and opossum, but not the following fish: *'urahu*, *ba'a*, *totowarao*, *ume* or *baohu*, and not eels; they may eat pigeons, but not lizards, bats, cuttlefish, or brush turkey's eggs; they may eat most roots, but not *hira* (caladium) or *toa*; all yams except *uhi rara*; and bananas, but not *hugi bwara bwara* and *hugi toraga*. These restrictions are gradually withdrawn, the last to go being that on *hugi toraga*, a banana with its branches sticking up instead of down like other bananas, and this the boy cannot eat till he is sixteen or seventeen.

A mother could never leave her baby for an instant for fear an *adaro* should carry it off; and she was continually saying charms in any unlucky circumstances, such as being caught in a sun-shower or letting the sun touch the baby's head. If she and her child were out in the garden and saw a sun-shower approaching she must hurry home. She was always waving the pandanus mat with which she shielded the child round the baby's head, and she muttered charms before going out of the house so as to *'ari buru*. No wonder I once heard a native saying to some heathen, " At least you mothers ought to be Christians and half your cares would vanish."

At some places in Arosi (Wango for example) there is a children's language, containing a good many words slightly different, and some quite different, from those of the older people; some of the children's words are found inland in the ordinary speech. Probably this children's language is partly the result of imperfect attempts to say the ordinary words and partly words learnt from their mothers, women from other places; but it is quite a recognized dialect and is used by the children as long as they keep their three tufts of hair, and only given up with the other marks of childhood.

The children of Arosi have toys, wooden dolls, dogs, and pigs, swings, bows and arrows, model canoes, musical toys such as the whistling bamboo, a jew's harp (*Karakara*), and pan pipes; they hear endless fairy stories and are always looking out for dwarfs, gnomes, water sprites, ogres, and lurking ghosts; they hear of people who ascend in smoke to the sky, change into birds and fishes, are levitated for miles in the air, are possessed by demons, become sharks or do other wonderful things; and their parents believe these things too, which makes a great difference; they see magic stones which jump off rocks in glee, go on journeys, travel through the air, blaze like the sun at night, or have wonderful properties of other kinds. Remember, too, the virgin forests come right down to their villages, forests in which anything may exist. The children have plenty of time for play and few punishments; endless games and songs and dancing through the long moonlight nights; many quaint customs, great freedom; and although there are some things to be set on the other side yet I think on the whole the joys of childhood in Arosi must be greater than any we Europeans have known. But before we come to the games and customs of the children, we must turn back a little to the sons of the gentlemen (Araha) and wizards (shark-men), and note the special things that happen to them.

On the day a *gare manimani* is born the father stretches a string (*riri waro*) across the door of his house, and no one must enter. If anyone wishes to see the child he crawls in under the string and gives a present of money for the privilege. A man is supposed to give more than a woman. The mother and the child must not leave the house even to bathe, water is brought and two women are set apart to bathe the child as soon as the water has been charmed. Anyone who accidentally touches the child must give him a present, and the *riri waro* or *bani maraufu* remains for some time. When he is about a week old he gets his name in the usual way, and some time afterwards comes the first of a long series of perhaps a dozen feasts, lasting till he is a young man. To give this series of feasts, which means the outlay of a considerable sum of money, is to *ha'a mwæraharaha* " to make a great man " of the boy, and amounts to adoption into the *araha* or chief's clan. It is done by the boy's father or mother's brother.

There seems to be some variety as to the order of the feasts, but the chief ones are when he and his mother are taken to bathe (until which time no stranger may see him or approach him without giving a money present, and this may be several years after birth), when he is taken solemnly down to " see the sea ", when he is made to entertain the neighbours and give them betel, and when he is carried about to neighbouring villages to be on view and get presents ; and finally comes the two years' seclusion in the men's house, from which he comes out a man, and though this is shared by other children their seclusion is much shorter, they are really his attendants, and the rite is for him, as an *araha*.

A feast is given when mother and child first go to bathe, *ha'aari wai i gare* " taking the child to the water ". People come from all about to see it. The father or uncle feeds them. The mother and child and people go down to the water, the stream is charmed with appropriate *haiaru*, and in this holy water the mother bathes her baby, the water taking away sickness and giving him life ; and as she bathes him she holds money (shell money) over him so that he may be a rich man. Some say the name was formally given then, but I think this is doubtful, and if it came to be done sometimes it may have been in imitation of Christian baptism.

Perhaps an earlier feast was when the bush-baby, the Araha bush-baby, was solemnly taken down to the shore, *ha'areereeone i gare* " making the child see the shore ". The party who went down

provided food and the coast people also did so, the baby was carried to the beach and given his first view of the sea, and received presents from the coast people.

Another early feast is the *rono i boo*, when the prince eats his first pork. After this, and after he has been bathed in the stream, it is no longer necessary to give a present if someone accidentally touches him.

Probably the next feast to the *rono i boo* is that called *bwahuro bwau*. Taro leaves are put in the fire (*bwaa ni rara bwau* " taro for head warming"), and when they are hot are rubbed on the baby's head.

About this time, too, comes an important feast called *Damu waipo* or *Damu bua*, because this is when the child gets his property in trees. The father gets *amadi*, betel leaf; chews it with betel and lime, and fastens the mixture, or at least the *amadi*, on the child's navel. No more leaves can be taken from this plant till the feast is made, and at this feast the people *tongo* (taboo) a number of trees, first betel, then coco-nuts, then some food gardens of yam and taro, but not breadfruit or anything else. People come from all about to this feast and give the child presents.

After this the child, as the maker of the last feast, is carried about the country and is, so to speak, on view at other people's feasts. Messages will come from various *araha* that they wish to see the child; one will send a present perhaps of an axe, and the child will be taken down to him and a small feast made. This taking about from place to place to feasts, or because some *araha* sends a present, is called *waia suri omaa* " the taking about the villages " or *ha'aho'isia* " the exchanging ". All the presents given by the various *araha* for a sight of the child have to be returned in due course, in some form or other, by the boy's father or uncle.

And now comes the main feast, called the *haangaungau i gare*, " the feasting of the child ". This is much the most picturesque of all the feasts. Great preparations are made, almost as much as when an *araha* comes out of *maraufu* (two years' seclusion). A high three-cornered platform, ten or twelve feet high, is erected and gaily painted in red, white, and black (with red ochre, lime, and *o'a* sap respectively), mostly in lozenges of red on a white or black ground; figures of birds and fish are carved, and the whole village puts on its festive air. People come from large distances (I have seen them come 50 miles) and bring presents of pigs and money, blowing

bamboo trumpets as they approach the village. The boy is seated on the top of the platform, from which red grass streamers are flowing ; he has all his ornaments on and must feel huge by his own importance. The ingredients for betel chewing are beside him, and when all are assembled the father stands and, acting as his son's herald, calls his guests in order of rank, and as one of the chiefs' names is called and he steps out, the father hands him betel leaf and says in a loud voice (it is a kind of high, shrill chant) :—

Bua anai A.
Ona 'o susuha'i amaama ni mae
'O bwa'i hūsia ta hua nei bua nai gare
Ona 'o rarae 'oo
'O bwa'i . . .
Ona 'o hihita mada ni mae
'O bwa'i . . .
Ona 'o susuru gare
'O bwa'i . . .
Ona 'o rerehi anga
'O bwa'i . . .
Ona 'o daua i 'a'abi ni beebee boo
'O bwai hūsia ta hua nei bua nai gare.
Betel of A.

If you are putting fern in your hair (a sign of fighting)
You will not take the child's betel nut
If you are twisting out a spear (from a slain enemy)
If you are striking down with a club
If you are carrying off children
If you are seizing money bags
If you are poking out pigs with a stick
You will not take the child's betel nut.

Each of the *araha* then comes up facing the boy, bows to him, holding out his hands, palm to palm (like a man praying) and saying, or rather singing :—

'Iniani au boi 'iniani
Do wa'i damu tagua hua buasi
'Inia au raba ha'ataroa 'ini garegu.
Ruru tanaa na inoni !

This is what I come for
To eat my share of this betel nut
For I want to spread the fame of my son.
Come, gather to him, all men !

It is in fact an alliance between the child and the various *araha*, so that they will not make war on him, but receive him as one of their own number. He is now an *araha*.

The boy may be now seven or eight years old, but there are several more feasts to follow. These are feasts held when he first begins to do certain things. There is one when he first learns to *karowai* (*rarau* and *wado* mean the same), i.e. to go to the streams and fish and get prawns ; they *ha'a karowai i gare*. When he is about seven or eight there is also a feast called *ha'a tarawa'ana 'ini hane*, teaching him to climb, when he climbs up a nut-tree. Another more important is called *ha'a tarawa'ana 'ini odo* or *togorana* teaching him to work, when the boy plants a garden (only a small one, his first, and specially prepared for him).

There are other things which have to be done, but a feast is not always made for them. His ears have to be pierced, a semi-religious rite, and called *susu kariugua*, and sometimes cicatrices are made with a brand on the calf of his leg, shoulder, arm, and on his chest, *susubori*. These operations take place before he is secluded when he is perhaps only six years old, and afterwards comes tattooing, but not the ordinary sort (*rabu*), which anyone can undergo : stars, trees, and so on punctured on his body with a bat's bone (*taru*), the paint *maugade* being a mixture of burnt gum (*buru*) of *'ado'a* or *marangari* (nut-trees) with water ; the soot (*do'odo'o*) is mixed in a cup (*teteu*), and the pattern punched on face or arms. It might be a conventional representation of the *arite* tree, or fish, or stars, or lines representing the bank of evening clouds, or spots (*toto'o*), or chevrons (*maro'uro'u*) representing a snake. These the noble youngster might have, but he also has his special tattoo called *usu*, which is cut, not punched, and consisted of three figures, the *gaura* or frigate bird, the *bwari* perhaps representing the large tarantula or its web (one variety makes a web) and the sun. The former were only shown by conventional signs, but the sun, the most important and (with the *ha'augaungau* feast) making him completely *araha*, is a carefully cut figure with rays, distinguished from the stars of the *rabu* by the separation of the rays from the disk. This usually all

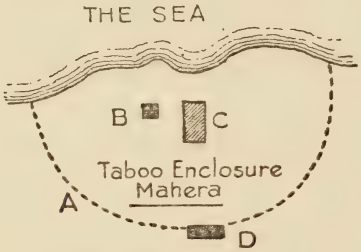
takes place before the *maraufu*. There is another earlier feast called *ha'angau'ado'a* " teaching to eat nuts ", when some pudding with nuts is put in a sacred bowl *dara manu* or *dara huai i'a* (a bird or fish bowl) and the child eats a portion, and then gives the rest to the guests. At every one of these feasts the guests gave him presents. Bush-boys did not have the long seclusion for bonito fishing, the chief *maraufu* (*ha'a maraufu* meaning to make an adept, to teach or instruct), but they had a *ha'a maraufu ini ngahu*, instruction in killing. A man is killed and brought to the boy (the victim is called *sae maraufu 'ini gare*) and he spears the corpse, after which a piece of flesh is cut out of the muscle of the right arm, and the boy eats it raw.

All these feasts and operations being concluded and the *gare manimani* being now an *araha*, if he is a coast-boy he prepares to enter the canoe-house by the shore for a long and strict seclusion for two years, when he will see no woman and mix with none but his companions, who are also undergoing seclusion, perhaps one or two, perhaps as many as ten or twelve, and the older men who instruct him. Each such band of secluded boys will have an *araha* boy as their leader ; some will join the band much later than he does and only spend a month or two ; they are really only his attendants, and it does not matter much how long they stay ; but the young *araha* must stay the full time. The canoe-house where the boy is to pass this long period of seclusion is built perhaps a quarter of a mile from the village, or at any rate, is distinct from it, and it is here that the small, graceful, decorated canoes for bonito fishing are kept. The walls are of stone, not of bamboo or wood, and the boys will presently build themselves a tiny stone house in which they will live. But first comes their selection, for no boy unworthy is allowed to take part, and " the thoughts of their hearts ", as my native narrator says, " are told by the bonito." It should be said that the bonito is sacred, largely used in sacrifices, the centre of many curious customs, and that the final result of the *maraufu* is to be union between the boys and the bonito, although this does not stop them from killing bonito, but rather gives them supernatural power to do so.

The candidates then are taken to the *oha* (canoe-house), and the older men go fishing and catch bonito to test the boys. Then the boys are called to the chief and he, having killed a bonito and cut its tail, calls the boys in turn to stand by him and open their mouths, and the blood of the bonito drips down into them. But if one of the boys

stands so, and no blood drips from the bonito, that is taken as a sign that the boy has done something wrong which makes him unfit, and he is sent off home. After this preliminary test the other candidates, already blood brothers of the bonito, settle down to their two years' stay.

It will be best to describe an actual *maraufu* which I was fortunate enough to see. In this case the *oha* was about 200 yards from the village in a little bay where the bonito canoes could land. A stone wall made a pretty large enclosure about 50 yards square, but quite irregular in shape. In the centre by the shore was the *oha*, with open front and stone walls, and three or four canoes—bonito canoes with red grass streamers—inside it. A few yards away the three boys (there were only three) had built a small stone house about 5 ft. by 5 ft., quite bare and with very little space for them to lie on, and nothing



A. Stone wall
B. The stone house for the boys
C. The canoe-house, *oha*
D. The stone platform for food

but bare rock and earth to lie upon ; the roof as usual of sago thatch. At D was a small stone platform where food was brought by their mothers, who were able to signal to the boys by pulling a string which communicated with the boys' house. The boys had planted a casuarina to commemorate the *maraufu* as each party had done before them, so that there were a good many casuarina trees about in all stages of growth.

During a boy's stay in the *maraufu* he keeps his head shaved and whitened with lime. His fare is not very plentiful and he has no mat to lie on, and he is made to get up before the sun rises and jump into a pool of cold water. He is taught about native customs, and to make fishing lines, hooks, and sometimes weapons, bowls, etc., chiefly by his father or mother's brother, or by the man who is put in charge of that particular party. He must never be seen by a woman and cannot leave the tabooed enclosure, or if he does stroll near he

must be certain first of all that no women are about. A stranger wishing to see the boys has to pay for the privilege, putting his present into the painted carving of a crocodile, as I did myself at this *maraufu*; some tobacco in this case. When the boys went fishing for bonito, each boy with an elder man as his companion, they went at dawn and the boy lay flat on the bottom of the canoe, covered over with a pandanus mat, till they were well away from the land. They could not come back by daylight, but after sunset, on the rising of certain stars. No singing was allowed in the enclosure, especially of women's songs; all thought of women must be put away. Generally the boys were 10 or 12 years old, but sometimes much younger, and even a baby might be admitted and drink his meal from his mother through an opening in the wall. While the *maraufu* lasted only *araha* men and the boy's father and uncle could come to the place; it was called *maea*, sacred. The boys could fish on the rocks at night and eat what they caught, but they lay most of the day in their small stone house, and if they went outside in the daylight covered themselves over with pandanus mats; but often during the day they were out at sea fishing for bonito, and if they caught some fish quite early they still had to lie all day in the hot sun in their canoes till the proper stars rose. Their food was rough, the skins and husks left with it in the cooking. The boys must bathe often and never be dirty (the three I saw looked beautifully clean). The water used by them for washing must not be used by anyone else. This long seclusion, plain living, hard training, and enforced cleanliness must have been very good for the boys (for they had plenty to eat, though roughly cooked). It has passed away now with other heathen customs, and I doubt if there will be another *maraufu* even on Santa Anna or Ulawa, where they have lingered longest. None certainly will be seen again in Arosi.

The boys have now been taught to catch bonito, and have caught their first fish, which is accompanied by an odd ceremony. They bring their first catch of bonito ashore, if there is one fish one man eats it, if two fish two men, and so on. The men who eat are chosen by divination. They hold a bow or spear in the right hand, and he who feels his arm quiver is set apart for eating the bonito. At the same time a sacrifice is offered of a small fish, which is said to take the place of the bonito. The boy has to eat the raw liver of his first bonito, thus acquiring *mena*, spiritual power. If he shrinks from this there is an alternative which equally confers *mena*. His rod

is dipped in the sea and held upright over his head and the water allowed to drip about him (" like baptism " said a Melanesian friend). During their long stay in the sacred *mahera* the boys (*iraau na marauhu*) acquire a great deal of *mena*.

At last after two, or it may be even three years, as the crops show signs of ripening, the whole village prepares for the harvest and the coming out of the boys, which take place together. The chief says he will give so many pigs and the village so many, and each of the boys' fathers so many. The whole village for some two months gives itself over to preparation. It was in the middle of this preparation that I first arrived at the *maraufu*. Long before I got there I could hear the occasional winding of the conch. There are two conches, the Cassis and the Triton ; the latter is the more sacred, and will be used by and by, the former is winded at intervals all through the time of preparation. It was May and the boys were to come out at the June full moon. Already a *taohi* (a house built for a feast) had been put up in the village, and the sides and rafters were being painted gaudily in bright scarlet and white, lozenges of red, with here and there black, but generally a white background. The posts were being carved with a large snake, and fish ; and a carved crocodile gaily painted was at the farther end, into which people who wished to see the boys put betel nuts or tobacco or money. This carved and painted crocodile is a regular feature of the building. Between the main posts was the usual cup receptacle (of sago thatch) for the first fruits of the coming harvest, and in the small parallelogram between the posts was a *damusigo*, a place for throwing betel nut skins. Hanging along the painted sides were the ancient weapons of the dead, very old clubs, memorials of famous men, *bwauata* and *taro'ire*, and especially a wonderful and evidently very much-prized *supi* carved out of whale bone (the only bone club I have seen and only brought out for this occasion) wrapped round and round with sinnet. One of the posts was carved so as to show two men squatting back to back, as on spears. Taboo coco-nuts hung from the roof. The village artists were all hard at work.

When I came back two weeks later the house was finished, and outside had been put up a great three-cornered platform about fifteen feet high with a long narrow staircase leading up to it from the ground ; the staircase had low thatch sides about 2 feet high. The platform was splendidly painted and decorated with many carved figures of swordfish, hawks, and other birds, and the inevitable snake.

The platform really represents a bonito fish, the staircase is its mouth, the apex of the triangular platform is the tail, and here there is often a decoration, now purely conventional, which represents the tail fin. The initiated boys go up into the body of the fish, and this final rite ends their initiation. (For plan of platform see p. 348.)

I was not able to remain for this final and most important ceremony. When I paid my final visit it was only a few days before the full moon and the consequent exit of the boys. The village looked as if it were *en fête*, everyone was busy. The *taohi* had a number of new carved figures in front of it, a fine large snake with birds on its tail, a creeper round its neck, and a man astride on its back holding the creeper ; many separately carved birds (including the modern (?) additions of a cock and duck) ; pigs, dogs, and a certainly modern carved horse ; two very fine and large painted *iri* (swordfish) ; and two figures of Kareimanua, the famous legendary shark-man, to go with the *iri*, all these separate carvings destined for the platform. The conch was being steadily sounded, red grass streamers were flying everywhere, destined pigs were grunting, everyone was busy doing something and the place had a most festive appearance, like a village fair.

Had I been able only to stay to the end, on the early morning of the full moon as soon as the Morning Star rose, long before dawn, I should have seen (if I had been up in time) the *araha* of the *maraufu* rousing the boys. The day before they had been at sea catching flying fish which must be eaten on that day. The boys wash and are dressed in all their ornaments. Their *mena* is left behind in *ngari* nuts, to which it is temporarily transferred by a proper form of words, as it is considered wrong to take the *mena* on to the platform. It can be obtained again when they want it from the nuts. Their shoulders are smeared with lime, however, and dracaena leaves tied round their wrists, to protect them from any possible anger of *adaro* when women see them.

Meanwhile mats have been laid down from the enclosure where the boys are, along the path, and right up to the platform in the village. When the sun rises a procession is formed of the boys. First come two already initiated at a previous *maraufu*, and carrying, one a triton trumpet, and the other a bamboo lime box ; behind these two the boys form up, led by the *araha* among them ; each boy carries in his left hand a miniature bag, and in his right a miniature spear only about 5 feet long painted red and white. Then they set

out along the mat-strewn path (no one's foot must touch the ground) going very slowly, each putting his feet heel against toe, foot by foot, the trumpeter blowing on his trumpet, the lime box bearer rattling the lime stick, and all the people from their own and distant villages waiting for them. So they come to the platform, on to which they mount, and on which they remain standing for some two hours, and then return again to their enclosure ; but their seclusion is ended, and as soon as the visitors have all gone home they return to the village and sleep there.

It is doubtful if any but *araha* were initiated in the full method described ; and if other boys were allowed to take part it was, at any rate, only as their attendants. The initiation for an ordinary boy was very simple. When a man wished his son to be initiated into bonito fishing he arranged with three men to take the boy out with them. They waited for an opportunity and then the four paddled out in a canoe, the one set apart for catching a fish in the bow and the boy next to him. As soon as this man caught a bonito, the boy touching his rod, the four paddled back and the boy stood up to show the people on the shore that he was now initiated. They then paddled out to sea and asked the bonito fishing fleet to come in with them. Accompanied by the fleet of canoes they then returned to the shore, where at the landing place the people on shore had prepared drinking coco-nuts. When fairly close to shore they all stopped paddling and lined up in a row, an equal number of canoes on each side of that containing the initiated boy, the people on shore standing in a row opposite them and giving the canoe call, *kakaoa* ! (for a European ship the call is *sero* !) Then the fleet paddled slowly in, in line, and, when they were near the shore, in each canoe were lifted together the fishing rods, shaken all together by their holders. Then the boy's canoe came ashore, but the fleet, after receiving in each canoe ten drinking coco-nuts, returned seawards to its fishing. Such was the bonito fishing initiation for an ordinary boy, and the difference between this *maraufu* and the *maraufu ho'ota'i* of the *araha* marks well the difference existing in native opinion between the *mwae raha* and the *mwae ta'a*, the chief and the ordinary man.

Fig. 6. THE SHORE AT FAGANI

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CHAPTER XV

CHILDREN'S GAMES AND CUSTOMS

THE games and pastimes of the children are very numerous, and they have many songs and charms which belong to them and not to their elders. The following are chosen as examples :—

1. *Buruburu haioge*

In this game the children make two large mounds of sand on the beach, and then choose two sides who stand each near its own mound ; the two mounds represent two fires ; then each side contends with the other, trying to pull the others over and throw them on the mound, when they are " dead ", cooked food. Finally one side or the other is completely victorious and has cooked and eaten all of the other side, their enemies.

2. *Kikiru*

Here again they choose two sides and stand in two rows facing one another. One side takes the operculum of a gastropod shell called *mwera*, and this represents a pig ; the other takes a white stone which represents a dog. The side with the pig then digs four pits in the sand (*giru* is a pit) and they put the pig secretly in one of them and cover it over, and fill all the pits with sand so as to look alike. Then the side with the " white dog " throw it on to the pit in which they think the pig is. If they are right, they take over the care of the pig, and the others take over the dog.

3. *Arai'ubena*

They make a circle on the sand, and all crowd round it, representing a net (*'ubena*) ; then one stands in the middle who represents a large fish, and he makes desperate endeavours to break through the crowd and escape from the net, while the rest of them hold him back. This is a violent and lively game.

4. *Tatarau na huto*

The children form two rows facing one another and all join hands, each with the one opposite to him. Then one of them who represents a cuscus (*huto*) starts at one end and crawls along over their hands, like a cuscus crawling over foliage on a tree. Sometimes he is able to crawl to the end, but generally falls through to the ground, a dead cuscus.

5. *Hirihiri ohu*

This is a game in which all stand in a row and join hands, while one goes a little way off and is supposed to be a *Pwarare* bird. Then one end of the line goes round the other till the next to the last child is tightly held against the last who stands firm, and the whole line goes round and round this last child, encircling him with coil after coil like a great snake, till all are coiled up tightly together. Then the *Pwarare* bird comes up and taps them one by one, and as each one is tapped he falls down, till all have been so killed.

6. *Mwatomwato henu i ngari*

This is not, one would think, a very exciting game. They make a long row in the sand, heaping up a long mound, and all along this they put the shells of nuts (*henu i ngari*) which represent fish. They then take the mid-rib of a sago leaf which represents a rod, and strands of coco-nut fibre which represent fishing lines, and the mid-rib of a coco-nut leaf for a hook, and they sit down together in a line along the sand heap and fish with great patience and gravity for the nut-shells, and in due silence so as not to frighten the fish, like real fishermen.

7. *Kikimou angiangi*

Much like *tapatapa kau*, the children holding their hands in a vertical row, while one of them tickles the palm of each hand, singing a song meanwhile, and then that player is " out ".

Another variety of *kikimou angiangi* is quite different, however. They hold out their hands and snap their fingers with a click if they can, and then clench their fists which represent ovens for cooking food, and they wait for the cooked food, singing meanwhile a song:—

'Iha'iha rawai ngari	Take off the nut leaves (*ngari* nut),
'Iha wou a mangari	Take them off, it is raw.
'Iha'iha rawai 'ado'a	Take off the nut leaves (*'ado'a* nut),
'Iha wou a matota.	Take them off, it is cooked.

Then one party says: *Hahi ana tei na sisiki ni?* "Whose is the cooked food set apart here?" and the others reply: *Hahi ameu* "Our cooked food". To which the others answer: *Mo'i kehakeha ma mo'i nunuga adaau* "Uncover it and put it ready for them". And then the children all go to bathe in a river and say: *Ra'i ngai adai ae* "They will eat their dung", and they say: *Gai keha* "Let us uncover it"; and they open their hands and pull their fingers to make the joints crack. If one finger cracks the owner says, "I have one portion of cooked food"; if all ten fingers crack he says, "I have ten portions for my share."

All the games represent something done by their elders, but with many it is hard to see what this is, or to understand the songs. The children are always singing, playing game after game, through the moonlight nights and singing continually the proper songs, with grave seriousness (for they must be exactly right).

8. *Hirito'o* or *Hiito'o*

In this the children hold hands in a long line, and then the line doubles and the child at one end, followed by all the others, passes under the arms of the last two, who turn and twist round. He comes back to the original position, and then back and under the arms of the second and third from the end of the line, and so on, till finally he passes under the arms of himself and his neighbour.

The song for this is:—

Angiangi ihei
Angiangi warowaro hinou
Sisirihia bwarisuna
Marakaura
Eaea.

I cannot translate it; *angiangi* probably means, "to slay," and *warowaro*, "the moon"; the meaning of the other words is "enter his nose like the frigate bird, eaea".

9. *Karikari ahuro*

Eight players are needed for this. Four sit with their legs stretched out, two at right angles to the other two, feet against feet; the other four stand at the four corners; all hold hands, and then the whole eight whirl violently round and round.

15. *Nonoa pito*

In this game they divide into two companies, and each company goes off to the bush, stream, or sea to get leaves of plants, shoot birds, catch fish, prawns, and sea or river creatures. Then they all return to the village and sit down, the two companies opposite one another, and one company puts down a leaf of a tree, or a bird, or anything they please after singing the song; the other company then sings the song, and then has to match whatever has been put down in the middle. If they can do so they tear a frond from a fern; if they fail to do so the other company tears off a frond; and at the end of the game they count to see which company has scored most. The words of the song are some of them strange and unknown (*ahia, tawana,* etc.), and some archaic, *rauti* for *rawadai, kere'ai aku niania* for *gere hasi'ei agua ia,* etc.). The archaic forms are some of them like Bauro words :—

Nonoa pito rau ti isia
Isi paraisuri paraisuri
Mwane koekoe ahia tawana
Ngau ora'ora'ia
Pwai mwane sikinia
Kere 'ai aku niania.

16. *Korori*

Kirori is the name of a bird, and this is a game of swinging, a swing being made from the bough of a tree with a stout creeper, and as the child swings (*ono*) he sings a song. There are many of these swinging songs, of which one is given as a specimen :—

Kirori,
Tapuri'a kori,
Kori na ramusi,
Ramusi ta garori,
Taga ni kakuhi,
Kakuhi ni Ugi,
Rerere a oa,
Uria na toba,
Toba i hana dora,
Husi dora adoa,
Mou kirori.

But these games, which are given as specimens, lose much of their charm when described in this bare way, without their accompanying

chants; sing-song treble chants are always used with them. The games need, too, their native players, with their lithe, brown bodies never resting a moment, and their laughing faces; and their native setting of a black sand beach and white combers coming roaring in, while behind is the whispering and waving row of the tall coco-nuts, and shining down upon all very often a glorious tropic moon.

Some of the songs are, therefore, given, though I cannot supply the tunes, but only the words; and generally must leave those untranslated. Like the drum couplets, many of them are rhyming songs.

The children wake when the sun is rising and come sleepily out of their houses. When they wake first they sing to themselves a song:—

Dangi, dangi, dangisi rarua
Rua wae, rarua
Raru beriberi bua
Bua anai auwa
Auwa pwasimahura
Gaasia ma ta hua
Anai angatete agua
Au gapsi rangasi'amurua
Ma rangahi' 'amurua
Mara wagiraini 'amurua
I taohi ha'abura.

Daylight, daylight, shine on those two,
Two old women, they're stealing betel,
Betel belonging to grandfather, blind old grandfather.
Throw me a nut for my decorated bag,
Or I will tell of you two, and you two will be caught,
And they will stick up the skulls of you two
On the new men's-house.

Then they blow up the almost dead fire and squat round it and warm themselves, spreading out their hands to the blaze and chatting; and presently one of them starts *Bobohi'eu*. They are sitting in a circle and they hold out their hands over the fire one on top of the other, and try to press down the hands lowest of the pile on to the fire singing:—

Bobohi 'eu	Cover over the fire,
Iatei na'i 'eu	Who is in the fire?
Ia Wae Kehukehu	Old Mother Sitting-Tight!

Bobohi ora	Cover over the light,
Iatei na'i ora	Who is in the light ?
Ia Mwani Waibora.	Mr. Pigeon !

In another part of Arosi it is:—

Rorobo 'ehu	Press down the fire,
Tei ne'i 'ehu	Who is in the fire ?
'Ehu kehukehu.	Fire firm.

Then perhaps they sit in a row on the *dadahoro*, the long tree trunk which runs lengthways along the sleeping places and crosswise to them, from end to end of the house ; and they slap their thighs all together and sing :—

Kiri pwa huasa
Huasa ni tawaru
Tawaru mwinamwina
Rupu kauwasi pumwa
Wasi pumwa i tara
Tara i huna mwiti
Huna mwiti paina
Paina asirau
Asirau wairau
Wairau kahuru
Kahuru totora
Totora manua
Manua ni ara
Ni ara ereere
Ereere awao
Awao mara toro
Toro nai bwanoo
Bwanoo haaodo
Taretare na pio
Taresi wai pio
Garahai buburi
Rua pwai ma dangi
Dora ga i'oe.

There are literally scores of these songs, which contain many old words and old forms no longer used, and would, if they were all collected, furnish many facts throwing light on the history of the language.

When the children sitting in the house see a very red yam, they call it *warokiri* and sing a long song beginning :—

Kiri warokiri	Slice the Warokiri,
'O'o ihei na ura ?	Where does the drum stand ?
(*Kiri warokiri*)	Slice the Warokiri,
'O'o i Suratawa ?	The drum of Suratawa ?
(*Kiri worokiri*)	Slice the Warokiri,
Suari apaapa,	Eat half of it.
(*Kiri worokiri*).	Slice the Warokiri,
Apaapa bwautaka, etc.	The half with a white head, etc.

What all this means neither do the people know, nor does the writer.

If the children find a brush turkey's egg they sing :—

Poupou i 'au'au	Brush turkey's egg,
Pusuria ta'inau.	Smash it away from me.
Poupou taetae	House lizard's egg,
Pusuria ta'iae.	Smash it away from thee.

After bathing and splashing about in the river or sea for hours, the children come and sit in a row on the sand in the sun and sing :—

Tapa na tiwi
Na ura na sina wisi.
Tapa na 'au'au
Na ura na sina na ri'i.
Tapa na dowa
Na ura na sina waa.

The children have charms of their own for sun, rain, making a calm or a storm. The following are examples :—

Rain Charm

Pwapaku hariu mai na Rangi
Rangi nai Ha'ani.

Fine Weather Charm

Dangi, dangi na kiki
Kiki ra wani hiru
Ra wani hiru sau ua
Sau ua mara pora
Pora ku hari
Ku hari wai riri

Wai riri aroro
Aroro kanea
Kanea mara ruka
Mara ruka ni Gera
Ma'o dangi marewa
Dangi taha i Gera.

For a Calm

Biowaa tai ta'e
Rua gare nia ta'e
Biowaa raurau
Rua gare ni marau.

For a Storm

Tutu mwaeta'a
Kakarasi mwaeta'a
Suungi ani marawa
Suungi tarai naho raha
Suungi tarai matawa.

Whatever they are playing at, they sing an accompaniment, as for instance if they find a big log and pretend it is a canoe, they sing of making a canoe and embarking in a canoe and fishing from a canoe, for example :—

Iora gasi a ha'arongora
Mwane ra buburu ora
Buru ora 'ai mera
'Ai mera uru tewa
Uru taketakerea
Takerea i ba'ewa
Ba'ewa na sikera
Sikera mwane ni Gera
Raru matoo kenakena
Wa'anai ni mera
Ni wrao suu abena
Usu waro menamena
Usu hara i ba'ewa.

A child with a stomach-ache will say the proper child's charm for a stomach-ache, meanwhile stroking down and away the pain in his stomach :—

Tatarohi ahu	Stroke the belly.
I akuru mahu	Be quiet, belly noise.
I ahugu a'i mahu.	Be quiet, my belly.
Tatarohi ahu	Stroke the belly.
I akuru uhu	Stop, belly noise.
I ahugu a'i marihu.	My belly will be free from pain.
Ahugu a'i mahu	My belly will be quiet.
Ahugu a'i marihu.	My belly will be free from pain.

When they are in the garden, one of them will often hide a bit of yam, and then another of them will get a mid-rib of sago leaf and poke it under all their armpits, and withdraw and smell it to see who has the yam.

Counting

There are many ways of counting up to ten, using entirely different words in each. Two are given as examples, the first by using names of trees :—

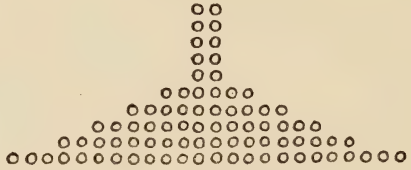
1. *Eta, hua i tea*
2. *Rua, hua i bua*
3. *Oru, hua i doru*
4. *Hai, hua i aai*
5. *Rima, hua i darima*
6. *Ono, hua i ongo*
7. *Biu, hua i niu*
8. *Waru, hua i anaru*
9. *Siw'a, diwa hira*
10. *Tangahuru, hua i buru.*

The next is from the Bush behind Marou Bay.

1. *Eta ka*
2. *Rua ka*
3. *Oru mu*
4. *Makai*
5. *Arosi*
6. *Rikipo*
7. *Rangipo*
8. *Itosi*
9. *Ahuri*
10. *Kehai*

The following called *Sinakawa* is much more curious. One of them makes the following figure on the ground with his finger, and then

turns his back to it, while another ticks off the little holes made as he says the words given below, *sinakawa* for the first three holes, *su eta* for the two following pairs (*su eta, su eta*), and so on, back to *sinakawa* :—



Sinakawa
Su eta, su eta
Su eta esui, su eta esui
Su eta esui oe, su eta esui oe
Su eta esui oe kawa, su eta esui oe kawa
Su eta esui oe kawana ritani kawana boroniga baeta.

These words have a very similar look to those of the language of Marau Waawaa ; their meaning is unknown.

If the mother goes to the garden and leaves the children behind in the house, they take a coco-nut cup and fill it with ashes. They chew betel and pepper and put them with the ashes in the cup. Then they put a stick for betel chewing with it, and put it outside in some hidden place, and then, shutting the house up tight, they lie down on the bed and cover themselves over with pandanus mats. No one must say a word till the mother comes back, but a magic chant may be softly sung :—

Kukuru masi
Ra mwani koru
Kokoru pwe
Pwe ni mwarore
Mwarore madarore
Madahaioeoe
'Ubuta ni wabu te
Tete na uwe
Na uwe hurehure
Taho giru mwaiei
Mm ! mm ! mm !

When she comes they go and look at the ashes in the cup ; if they are red an *adaro* ghost has been chewing betel nut there, and has come back with the mother perhaps or visited the place while she was away.

Adaro, it would seem, uses ashes in place of lime. The little brown figures lie absolutely still under the mat, with shining eyes, softly singing the magic words, and wondering if a ghost is using the ashes.

There were some cruel punishments. One was to put a naughty child in a bag and tie him up in the smoke over the fire. The man who told me this had had it done to him by his father, but his parent, he said, did not play the game, for he tied up the mouth of the bag, which was never "done"; and when the bag was taken down they took out a little boy very far gone with the smoke and heat. But on the whole people were very kind to their children; and the children had a very happy life: for not only had they an enchanting playground, great freedom, many stories, and many interesting wonders to see, but they were very good tempered, and seldom quarrelled, while the older children were almost invariably kind to the younger ones and fond of nursing the babies.

When they were old enough they went out with their mothers to the gardens and helped in the work, and a boy would soon go with his father. The boys were soon separated from their sisters and slept all together in the *oha* of their clan. They were taught about their native customs and morals by their elders, and especially by the grandmothers; about marriage when they were still young lads, for example, that when they married and a child was born, they were not to have intercourse with the wife till the child could run about; and that if, after they married, they had intercourse secretly with a woman not their wife, it would cause the illness or death of one of their clan. The boy was taught to know the relationship between all the people of his village, and who were his own relations in distant places. The first great event perhaps was going to a feast some distance off, when he would see people and be taken notice of and become known, and would hear the orators all night long talking of the past and the history of customs, and the causes of wars. He was a thorough communist, sharing everything with his fellows, stinginess being continually presented to him as the worst vice. He kept his body clean with continual bathing, never failing to take a daily bath, whether on the coast or in the bush. He learnt naturally and easily the names and uses of trees, birds, and insects; and every evening he heard from his elders stories of all kinds, the evening story-telling being a regular custom. Fishing, games of spear-throwing, bird shooting, pig hunting and his regular work for his father and uncle filled in his time.

CHAPTER XVI

MARRIAGE

PEOPLE hear or read that wives are bought in Arosi and that marriages are arranged by the boy's relatives, and they jump to the conclusion that it is all a business transaction, but it is very far from being so ; in fact, it is no more so than with us. But there are two points in which the Arosi customs do differ, whether for better or worse ; if a boy has made a proposal through his father and has not been accepted, the girl's father is fined for letting his daughter reject an eligible bachelor ; and if a boy has made a proposal which has not been accepted or from which he has backed out, it is held with some reason that he wants to get married, and any girl may propose to him. He will have to pay a fine if he refuses her, and to listen to some plain speaking from his family. But the father of a girl often does hold out for a larger dowry, and so stop the young men from getting married ; and, besides, all the relatives must agree before the marriage can take place. The father often refuses, too, because he wants his daughter's help in the house and garden.

There are several kinds of betrothal, to which different names are given, the most usual being the *ha'iwai goro* or normal marriage. In this case a boy takes a fancy to a girl of his own or a neighbouring village, and tells his father he wants to marry her. The father and maternal uncle then go to the girl's father, and if he gives a conditional assent the first formal step is taken, the boy is told that all is so far satisfactory and the next step lies with him—he has to find out if the girl will have him. He goes and works for her father for two or three months, living with the young men and boys in the men's house if it is in a neighbouring village. The girl understands, and if she likes him, she will talk to him, eat with him, and sit on the same mat ; to cook food for him is a formal acceptance. If she does none of these things it is a refusal, and he returns home and tells his father and uncle, and the girl's father has to pay a fine. The boy's mother, mother's sister, father's sister, and his mother's brother's

wife (the relatives who take the chief part in the arrangements) go and give the father and mother of the girl a sound rating; does the girl think the boy is not good enough for her? If he is a *mwae raha* (of the chief's clan) the offended parents receive a fathom of red money (about £1); if he is *mwae ta'a*, a person of no importance belonging to one of the other clans, they only get white money (about 4*s*.). If, however, the girl likes him and shows it in the ways mentioned, then the boy's relatives (the same as before) take a present of money (£1) called *ha'a bwara mara ruma* "the money at the door". After that, a week or two, or even a month passes before anything more is done. Then a number of friends (no particular relatives) are called together, and they go in a body to the girl's house. They must arrive at dawn; so, if she lives in a neighbouring village, they go overnight and sleep near by. They take the rest of the money agreed on, *ha'a heiru'u* "the money for the moving", and bring it to the house at daylight. It is carried by the boy's mother, or father's sister, or his uncle's wife, and when they first come to the house they *maramara edaro*, pretend the whole thing is off. The girl's parents will say, "Well, now, you've had a long tiring walk all for nothing, as we have decided not to let her go after all, she's no worker, and your boy would be very sorry later on if he married her, what a state his garden would get into." (I am giving words actually used.) The boy's relatives say: "Well, we mean to take her whether you want to let her go or not, she won't have to work, it isn't that we are thinking about at all, but our boy needs a companion." This joking (*wakesi*) is strict etiquette and must not be omitted, but no one believes it, any more than we believe similar polite remarks in society. The boy's mother then takes the money out of her bag, and hangs it up; it used to be nine more lengths of red money, making, with the first payment, one *ita* of red money (£10), but it may be less now, and, indeed, it often was less if the parents were mutually anxious for the marriage to take place.

This is a dull account of what is really a very lively scene; an excited party, most of the village, in fact, all dressed in their gayest, goes laughing and talking through the bush in the cool of the dawn. The boy's uncle cuts a green stick, and as he comes into the village sticks it into the thatch of the house over the door; the money is hung on it by one of the boy's clan. The writer, perhaps, as a distinguished stranger, is asked to make a speech, but modestly declines, so an orator from the boy's clan comes up, holds the end of the length of

red money and shouts : *Ho ! ho ! ho !* very loudly and rapidly (the introduction to all oratory). Then he speaks very fast indeed, with a great deal of coughing ; he is comparing the boy and girl to the two bottom planks of a canoe, no use apart but very useful when joined together. When he has finished up comes one of the girl's clan, seizes the end of the red money and shouts *Ho ! ho ! ho !* This orator walks swiftly a few paces up and down, as he talks of the past glories of his clan and says how few they have become. The girl all this time is sitting demurely inside the house, decked out in all her ornaments and surrounded by her girl friends. Then the feast provided by the girl's father is set out on large leaves, and apportioned, and each of the visitors is called up in turn to get his share. But the young men are impatient (especially my own small cook boy) and begin shouting, " Come, we've had enough yams and coco-nuts ; we want the girl, we want the girl ! " Inside the house the boy's uncle has had a special feast of delicacies provided for him ; and the bride also, but she is only eating a little, the rest she is taking to the bridegroom. At last she is brought out, and about noon we take her triumphantly to her new home.

Meanwhile the bridegroom sits in his father's house, with his brothers and a few special male friends. He has prepared a meal for himself and his bride (pig, yam, and nuts). When the party approaches his friends rush out with spears, and a sham fight takes place ; and then they bring her in. She sits on the ground, the bridegroom rises from his mat and takes her food and they eat together, while everyone else also feasts. Such are the proceedings of a " normal marriage ". One thing I see I have omitted ; when the boy comes home after working for Rachel, he makes a pudding and takes it to her, the *tosi tauma* the " folding up of the pudding ". After this the marriage is considered as quite settled.

Sometimes the girl is living a long way off, and the first proposal comes from the father, who says to his son : " Don't you think you ought to marry ? I can get you a girl if you like " ; and if the boy agrees he is sent by his father to visit the village, and goes and stays with the girl's father. If he is made welcome it means the parents are willing ; they must not say much, only that they are pleased to see him and hope he will come again. He stops with them two days and then goes home, but the first step is taken, and if, when he comes back again and works two or three months for the man, the girl refuses him, a fine must be paid. But if on the first visit the man

and his wife take no notice of the boy, and generally make it clear that they don't want him, that ends it ; no money passes, no fine is due.

Another common form of betrothal is called *ha'iwai heritohe* " a disobedient marriage ", but it does not differ much from the normal one, except that the boy does not consult his parents. He falls in love with a girl in the village, they exchange gifts, and meet secretly in the forest and agree to marry whatever their parents may say. This is considered " bad ", but there is no intercourse, they only meet and talk and arrange to marry. By and by someone notices they have exchanged bags and sees them meeting, and the parents hear of it, and everything is done as before, but not so completely ; the first payment is still £1, but the second only £5 or £6 ; it is a " cheap " marriage. Not many people go to get the girl, and her father gives her no present, but only lets her take her own private property. (In the regular marriage he gives a pig, which is led back to the bride-groom's house and called " the bride's walking-stick ".) The boy's father and uncle may refuse to help the boy, and he has to get his friends to advance him the money.

The third kind of marriage, called *waiwai pwaare,* is considered disgraceful. A man wishes to get his daughter married and invites a boy to come and live with him ; he means with a view to marrying his daughter, and the boy understands. He comes and works one or two years, living in the house and accepted as the girl's husband. Probably no money is given on either side. This is done by a man who wants to keep his daughter near him, but even in this case the boy generally goes back to his own village after a year or two, taking his wife. But it is considered disgraceful because it is " buying the boy " ; it is, however, not very uncommon. The story of Jacob is very interesting, and the details are quite natural to Arosi people.

The fourth way of getting married is popular. If a boy has tried to get a wife and has not succeeded, the girls of the place know he wants to get married, and now they can take the first step, which otherwise they would not think of doing ! One evening, perhaps, on the beach some girl will speak to him and give him a present, any little thing, but if he takes it he has promised to marry her, and is liable to a heavy fine if he later refuses. Then they meet secretly, exchange presents, someone notices what they have done, the parents of the boy hear of it and go to the girl's parents, everyone helps them ;

if the girl's father and mother refuse they have to give the boy money; they meet and eat openly together, he makes a pudding for her and all goes forward as in *ha'iwai goro,* but this is called *ha'iwai heiangisi* " crying for each other ". Almost always in these marriages the first proposal comes from the girl, she and the boy are on the beach in the moonlight under the palms with the children playing about, and she sends the children away on some errand.

There is another kind of betrothal, only common among the chief's clan, in which two children born about the same time are betrothed to one another from babyhood, and live together as soon as they are old enough.

My friend Simon gave me much of this information and he had had some experience. " As children," he said, " we used to give our things freely to each other ; my father had made a proposal for me and it was not accepted, but I did not realize I had to be more careful about giving presents, and one day I gave a mat to a girl of about my own age. I didn't ask for it back, and she concluded I wanted to marry her, and proposed to me one evening, but I had never thought of marrying her and refused. Everyone was very angry and I had to give her money, my father told me I was a disgrace to him. No one would speak to me, and at last they scolded me so much that I went off on a ship for a year. But even now though she is married neither she nor her husband will speak to me, and many people will have nothing to do with me, and say I am a man of bad character." Since then Simon has married, but as it was a *ha'iwai pwaare,* perhaps he has not altogether recovered his good name, although he is a government chief and a man of importance.

When he was a small boy his father gave him a sow. Simon took care of it, and by and by it had a litter of small pigs which Simon sold for £20. This he invested in a daughter, a girl of about his own age, whom he bought at a village twenty miles away. In native opinion she was just as much his daughter as if he were married and his wife had borne her, but he was only a boy and she about his age. Simon had a bosom friend, and was much touched at this time by his friend's affection, for the friend was always helping him in his garden or doing other work for him, and Simon thought how fond of him his friend was, but it never occurred to his inexperience that the friend was working for a wife. One day he made a proposal for Simon's daughter, and then Simon realized that his friend's work for him had not been wholly from friendship. The daughter and the

bosom friend were married and Simon received £10. "Rather a loss for you," I said, "since you had given £20 for her." "Perhaps so," said Simon, "but we Melanesians don't think of girls as if they were pigs. All *our* thoughts are not concerned with making a profit. He was my friend, and if he had only had £5 or £6 he should have had her. We have different ideas from white people." Perhaps after all not so very different.

CHAPTER XVII

DEATH AND BURIAL

WHEN sickness seems likely to prove fatal the clansmen of the sick person gather round him in the house, and take turns to support him in their arms in a sitting position. As soon as death takes place (for which the term is *niga manawa* " to let go the breath "), if the sick person is a chief (*araha*) the conch trumpet is blown, and all rush off about a quarter of a mile, taking their weapons and ornaments, and deck themselves as for a feast. They streak their faces with lime (*babasahu*) and put leaves in their hair (*'ama'ama*) as for a fight, and then come rushing into the village shouting, leaping, rejoicing, sham-fighting, running violently about, throwing spears, and apparently full of jubilation as when they come to a feast. This is done so that no enemy hearing of his death may be the first to rejoice. They forestall the enemy; to rejoice at the death of an *araha* is to *manawa*, and it would be insulting to the dead man to let an enemy be the first to do so.

All articles of dress are removed and the body is washed by a relative, and then, if the dead man is to be buried extended in the ground, the sea, a bag, or in a cave, he is wrapped from head to foot in pandanus mats or in the bark of certain trees (especially *taro*) softened with heat. The corpse is differently treated according to the way in which it is to be buried. If it is to be buried on a *heo* it is usually painted with *moamoa* (turmeric) in order, it is said, to lessen the smell. The man who washes or paints the body will be paid. Everyone who is to be buried on a *heo* is first placed in a canoe called *'aha'aha*, which is left in the house that night.[1] For several nights it will be taken to rest successively in the houses of different relatives (even to another village near), and then finally it is taken to the *hera* and covered with coco-nut fronds for the night. The big toes and thumbs of a dead man are tied together and nothing must be used

[1] All the children are made to pass underneath it as it rests on high trestles.

but rattan (*uwe*) for this. There is a very curious custom called *ha'a ariro* "leading astray" the ghost. When the canoe is carried out of the house all the children walk under it and back again while it is lifted high up. Another form of puzzling the ghost, so that it will forget a child and not haunt him, is to take the young nut of a coco-nut and slice it in two, and then the same with another nut. Then take half of each nut and join them together and put this made-up nut under the right armpit of the dead. The ghost will be so puzzled and taken up with trying to fit together the two halves of what he supposes to be one nut, that he will not haunt his child. On the south coast of Arosi half a *reremo* fruit and half a young coco-nut are thus joined; in the bush half the fruit of *ahuhu* and half a canarium nut. But the idea is the same.

The canoe in which the corpse is carried to the *heo* has its ends cut off. After it has been used it is broken up or taken to the sea and washed. It is only if the dead man is to be buried on a *heo* that this canoe, the *'aha'aha*, is used; so that it is hardly likely that there is any idea of providing a means of return to the home of the dead, the homeland of the people; and the custom is rather to be connected with the Egyptian boat of the dead; for *'aha'aha* is also the name of the sky home of the winged serpent Hatuibwari to which the dead will go, and this canoe will be used for that journey. But there does not seem now to be any idea that the dead go to the sky,[1] and as to going to the island of Maraba, the Arosi Hades, the ghosts all swim there, whether placed in a canoe or not. The canoe burial is only an ancient custom they have received, of whose meaning they have no idea.

After a man's death his property is destroyed, *ngoringori*; his trees are cut down, his nuts and yams strewn about the ground, his bowl broken. The broken property is placed on the grave. A loved dog or pig is also buried in a grave, and they *ngoringori* (or *udiudi*) also; in the case of a pig the bowl from which it fed will be broken, and in the case of a dog its owner's pig-hunting spear will be stuck up at the grave and never used again.

As soon as the man is dead the women begin the *agoago*, or lamentation. They lament him with loud crying, speaking of his work and their love for him; but the men do not *agoago* till the evening,

[1] The idea is known to some; one man told me the canoe was to take dead chiefs to the sun.

when they all gather in the house by the corpse and a leader, *baoha'i agoago*, begins a set form. This *agoago* of the men may take place several nights as the corpse lies in the canoe, or tied up in a mat, either in the house or in relatives' houses, to which it has been carried to pass the night before burial.

The corpse will finally be carried to the *heo* in the canoe, or if for other burial, slung on a pole as they carry a pig. When they return, the father, mother's brother, and brother of the dead will go back to the house, and the mother's brother (probably) will take a fishing rod and tie a betel nut to the end and *tarai adaro* or *a'o adaro* " fish for the ghost ". He has a little bag slung over his shoulder; and when he has secured the *adaro* on the betel nut he will put the nut in the bag. Later on it will be put with the skull of the dead man, wherever that is kept. Then other men come in, some with torches, some with sticks, but first some with long fishing rods. These last stand at the door, and holding out their rods fish for ghosts (*a'o adaro*) in the house. The bait in this case is a sprig of dracaena firmly tied to the end of the rod. When the ghost is caught the rod trembles. The other men go in and dash their torches round the sides of the house and beat the walls with their sticks, while the fishermen still angle for the ghosts, and when they have caught them go and throw them away in the sea. It seems the house is full of *adaro* come to feast on the flesh of the dead man, and to kill the living if they can. Fires are lighted in the house, but only the *ama*, *do'ora*, and *mau* remain there; all the people gather in one or two houses and don't sleep in their own, perhaps for twenty nights; many tales are told through the night.

Meanwhile, the dead man's friends take long sticks of the pith of the *'ahuto* tree (fire-rubbing tree) and go to the grave and stick them up round the fence (*barabara*) which has been set up, or take coco-nuts (the nuts) and impale them on the fence. Many only pretend to do this, as they are afraid. If any noise is heard, any rustling, on the grave, it is because either ghosts or the souls of living men have come to feed on the flesh, and the *'ahuto* wands are lighted or brands from the fire taken and thrown on the grave. If the soul of a living man is there feeding on the flesh, and the brand strikes him, a burn will simultaneously appear on the man's actual body where he lies in his house far away. A boy told me he was once sitting with the others on the night of burial when one of them started up calling out, " I am burnt! ", and there before their startled eyes a burn

came out on the body. The man's soul had been feeding on the corpse at the *hera*, and a burning *'ahuto* wand had struck it ; so my friend believed.

In Bauro, on the south coast, I was told that the death song, the *Peko*, was sung all night on the night of death, and this is done in Arosi where the death songs are sung at the *Rihumae*, a gathering held during the first ten days after death. On this day, too, the *Peko* is sung in Bauro, so it will be referred to when the death songs are described.

On the night of burial, at sunset, a man called *Angohi rae* goes to the grave and shouts aloud, and the dead answer with thunder. At the same time there takes place in the house the *angi 'unua* (*after* burial as the *agoago* was *before* burial). Men gather together in the house and certain particular stories are told, *angisi diwi* (? crying for, or ? slaying, the *diwi* bird), *angisi mwaa* (crying for or slaying the snake), and *angisi 'au* (crying for or slaying the bamboo rod) ; the narrator pauses at intervals and all sing. They also call aloud the name of the dead man, and outside in the dark he answers and calls aloud the names of those who will die that year. It is all a very strange ceremony.

Before the corpse is carried away the *mau*, or child (*gare*), of the dead rubs his finger over the eyebrow, and if a hair adheres to it it is a sign of the wish of the dead. A little of the eyebrow is shaved off and put in a hollow bamboo and sealed up. Then several days after burial the *mau* or *gare* goes fishing, carrying the relic. If he is successful, the first fish is eaten by his two sons, or brothers, or nephews (*mau*). If used regularly the bamboo is kept on the *raherahe*, and the relic is addressed in prayers. Such a relic is called *mwakura*.

After a man's death his father and brother do not shave, their beards being allowed to grow until the *hori murina* " the buying after him ". The *mau* may shave or not as he pleases ; other relatives continue to shave. The " buying " is that of a child to be adopted into the place of the dead and be given his name and standing ; or in the case of a chief of a man (*ramoa*) to be killed and eaten ; or instead of a child a canoe may be bought ; all these three transactions are called *hori murina*, and the beard is allowed to grow until they are completed.

The *ramoa*, the victim slain for the *Rihumae* of a chief, is usually brought from a distance. If he is not forthcoming the people get uneasy, and for two nights all exchange wives, or even for longer, and

then proceed to eat filth. Finally, if none is brought, one of the chiefs gives one of his people who is killed (some young man), and his body is cooked and eaten and his bones thrown into the bush. The buying of the *ramoa* takes place under a tree called *daro* or *taro*, and I think sometimes under a casuarina. A circlet of the needles of the casuarina are put on a corpse.

The husband or wife of the dead shave the whole head; the father, mother, brother, sister, father-in-law, brother-in-law, uncle, and uncle's wife (*ama, ina, do'ora, haho* (*asi*), *hungo iha, mau*), shave a line across from ear to ear; the children (*gare*) shave the whole of the back of the head behind the ears. The widow and widower let the hair grow gradually in transverse bands having a very odd appearance.

The widow of a chief covers herself with a *hi'o* mat till the *Rihumae*, then with a *ha'u* mat, and finally with a *bwana* mat. The widower also covers himself with a *bwana*, and both crouch as they go about. This lasts for twenty days. The *hi'o* is only used for a chief (otherwise *ha'u* and *bwana*) by the widow. While the mourning lasts the widow and widower are said to *nao*, and are called by this name; when the mourning is over they are called by other names for widow and widower (*marugu* and *'o'oura*).

They also wear *roge ni one*, small grey gastropod shells strung together, on neck and wrists as a general sign of fasting: haliotis when fasting from yam (*uhi* is the name for yam and for this shell); *'ado'a* nuts when fasting from pudding; *poru hana* "a land shell" (Bulimus) when fasting from *hana* "the prickly yam". These are sometimes inlaid and worn hanging from the ear with shell money.

The fast *ha'ariri* is very important for all relatives, and nicely regulated. The *nao* fasts completely for some days, and then for two months can eat nothing cooked; then for a year the *nao* may add to uncooked food bananas and *ahuhu*; then for two years may add *hana*; then for four or five years may add yam; and then finally may eat flesh of dog, pig, cuscus and taro, but sometimes not for twenty years; and often they are never eaten again. The father and mother share the same restrictions, which do not apply to foreign food, however. The children fast from yams for one year, and from taro for three. The sister and brother fast from yams a short time, and from taro for one year. The *mau* has a similar fast, but longer; he will not eat taro for three years. The *hungo* and *iha* fast from any one thing they choose for a year. These fasts are very much

regarded and still observed by Christian natives. They will go without food altogether rather than eat that from which they are abstaining.

On the day of the burial there is a feast called *Ha'araorao hera* "making warm the tomb". A little pudding is put on this night beside the dead man, and in the village people eat the death feast of pudding. It is on this night that the *Angi 'unua* takes place. Two or three men tell the tales and sing the songs, the death songs, which vary from place to place, but the most famous is the *Peko*. This is divided into three, the first, second, and third *Peko*. The first *Peko* is sung in the evening, the second at midnight, the third at the second cock crowing, about four o'clock in the morning, or just as the dawn is coming :—

First Peko

Peko, iata mai kaiko	Ancestor, my mother has come ;
Ku garigari surigo	I come back to thee
Suria ka matawa roto	Through the deep sea.
Ku matawa roto	I, the deep sea,
Wai ara roto	Water, calling,
Wai putoputo	Water, mother,
Hote amu na bwangongo	Thy paddle broken,
Hote ni tau togotogo	Paddle resting quiet,
Piringia ka ni kokoro	Pressed down and lost,
Sufagi robo	Dead and Taboo,
Robosira afu bauro	Taboo of the dead,
Ku gegetawa naio	I rest from weeping.
Naio io naio.	

The translation is very uncertain, the people themselves being only able to guess at some of the words. In this song *ku*, usually added to possessive nouns to mean "my", and more rarely the object of transitive verbs, is actually the subject, "I," which is rare. The meaning of *Peko* is only guessed ; *kaiko* "my mother" is certain ; but a very unusual form (for *inagu*).

I shall not attempt to translate the other two Peko :—

Second Peko

Wai makapuna mwarore,
Omae ha pwiwau
Ni baania, ka robwoaku,
Na robwo nai warosau,

Na opwanu tawarenga manu,
Pwopwoki mara waiau,
Pwopwoki mara waiau,
Rige!

Someone then cries, *Kirori!*

Third Peko

Mwarore na'i osi,
Osi wou osi mai,
Osi na'i karu topwau,
Aheahe na karu topwau,
Aheahe.

Someone goes out and throws a stone at the house, and they all come outside.

The song is inexpressibly sad in the singing, as are most of these death songs. There are many others, but the *Peko* is the most widely known.

On the second day (the day after the singing of the songs) the people eat *sobo* "puddings with coco-nut icing". On the third day they prepare for the feast on the fourth day *Haibongi*, the *Ha'asigi kakerei* "The Little Passing Away", which is not a great feast; but the ghost is passing away from the body, as the flesh is from the bones. On the sixth day water is poured on the corpse (this will be described later), and in some places a drinking coco-nut is emptied over it. This last custom is called *heidana*. On the eighth day they eat again *sobo*. The ninth day is a great day of preparation, getting ready for the big feast on the tenth day. This is called *Hunu bongi* "The Completed Days", and *Ha'asigiraha* "The Big Passing Away"; and all sorts of food and dainties are eaten.

Finally, there is another feast, called *Haru*, at an indefinite interval, perhaps six months later, at which women lament sometimes; and this usually ends the *Rihumae*. But for great men there were many feasts, *Ha'araorao*, for example, on the 200th, 400th, and 1,000th days after burial. At the last feast all that was left of his possessions was burnt, and that burning was the real end of the *Rihumae*, whenever it took place.

At the *Rihumae* there used to be ceremonial drinking of kava. The root was ground up in a stone basin, wrung out, and then each man drank in a small cup called *kukumanu*, and I think poured out a portion on the ground; but with the coming of betel nut kava

drinking passed away, and beyond the mere fact that this drinking once took place, which has been confirmed by a number of independent witnesses, I can learn nothing of the ceremony.

The following are the different methods of burial practised, using the word burial in a wide sense for all ways of disposing of the body of a dead person.

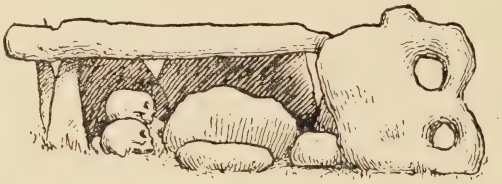
1. Burial on a mound of stones and earth called a *heo*, either in a shallow grave, or in a cave, natural or artificial, in the mound.
2. Burial in a grave dug in the ground, either (*a*) extended, (*b*) sitting, (*c*) standing.
3. Burial in the ground with the head above ground.
4. Burial sitting in a grave with a hollow tree enclosing the person from the waist upwards.
5. Burial on a tree platform.
6. Burial on the branches or roots of a tree, extended or sitting.
7. Burial in a hollow tree, usually standing.
8. Burial in a cave cut in a living tree.
9. Burial in a large bag sitting.
10. Burial sitting above ground round a tree.
11. Burial in a food bowl, *dara* or *hohoto*.
12. Burial in a canoe (embalmed).
13. Burial in a natural rock cave.
14. Burial in a cleft in the reef.
15. Burial on a rock in the sea, or on land ; extended.
16. Burial in the sea, either (*a*) extended, (*b*) sitting, or (*c*) standing.
17. Burial in the wooden figure of swordfish or shark.
18. Burial sitting, standing, or extended (exposed) in the house or *oha*.
19. Burial in a hollow bamboo set up on a *heo*.
20. Cremation.
21. Burial in a sago-tree hollowed like a gong, in the ground.

Of these different modes of burial some have several further modifications ; for example, a man buried in a cave may be buried in various positions and may be embalmed. These forms of burial will now be described, but about some of them not much need be said when other similar ways have been fully described. Evidently some of them are compromises between burial in the ground, exposure, cremation, and placing the body in the sea.

1. Burial on a Mound or within it

These mounds are very common all over the island, but only those of Arosi will be described, because it is only those that are well known to me. Some mention, however, must be made of the *torona* and *mastawa* of Bauro. It will be best to describe in some detail some of these Arosi mounds and the burial of the dead upon them, and the following are chosen as examples of the rest, those at: (1) *Tawaniora*, (2) *Tawatana*, (3) *Mwanunu*, (4) *Ratana*, (5) *'Ubuna*.

These mounds are called *heo*; sometimes *hera*.[1] Properly, a *hera* is a square or oblong clear space, as the village square, or the dancing ground in front of the burial mounds, but the oblong flat top of the mound is itself a *hera*, and the word is extended to include the whole; *heo*, though known, being seldom used. On the west side of the *heo* was usually an *oha*; on the north side a dancing ground (sometimes on the east side). On the top of the *heo* was a pit or shaft leading down into a cave. Also on the top of the *heo* was a dolmen



Dolmen (*hau suru*) with skulls and holed stone (moved to right) from the *heo* at Tawatana, Arosi. (From a photograph by Mr. H. L. Freshwater.)

called *hau suru*, consisting of three or five large slabs (the largest forming the top) and smaller stones, the whole forming a kind of box of stone or little stone temple, in which the skulls of the dead were placed. On the *hau suṛu* ("exalted stone") sacrifices were burnt, and on this were sometimes round stones, sometimes stone carved heads, sometimes small stone statues, into which the dead man's double (*adaro*) went, and in which it resided. Sometimes these stones, stone statues, and stone figures of birds and fish were near the dolmen on the *heo* itself. The shaft was to the north of the dolmen; if it were merely an oblong pit it was called *giru bwara*; it contained in that case a bed raised a foot or more above the ground, and was surrounded by a fence of bamboo. There might be several *giru bwara* on a *heo*. Also on the *heo* was at least one sacred tree, and some

[1] A man from S.E. Malaita told me that the *heo* are there called *tētē*, and are of stone on the coast and earth in the interior, as with us. Some, he said, are very lofty, and in some are elaborate stone work.

sacred shrubs, especially panax, dracaena, and croton. Near the base of the *heo* grew a sacred coco-nut (sometimes on the *heo*). On the *heo* were also sometimes stone pillars and other mysterious stones whose use is not known. The coast *heo* are made of rubble of earth and stones bordered by large slabs of rock, and the bush *heo* are usually of red clay. The size varies immensely from small *heo* 6 feet by 4 feet and 1 foot high, to *heo* 60 feet by 40 feet and 20 feet high, but the large ones are rare, the small ones common. The *heo* and burial on

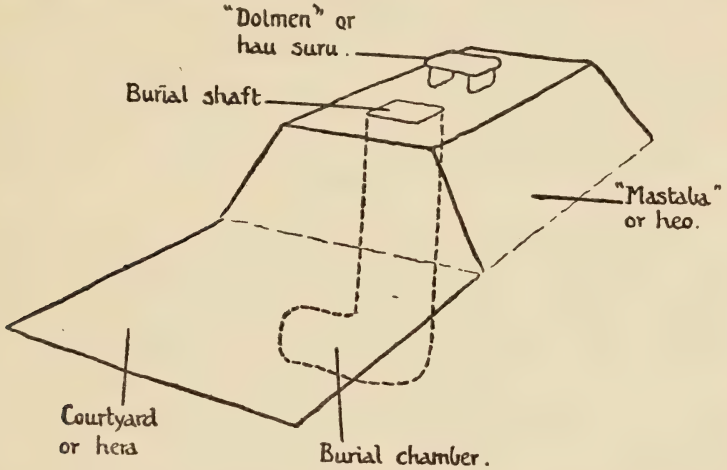


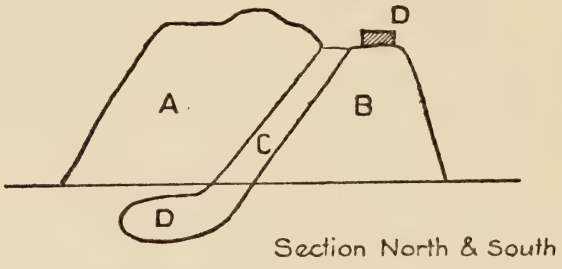
Diagram of a stone *heo*. This was provided with a shaft leading to a burial chamber, into which the mummified body of the dead *araha* was lowered through the burial shaft and then placed on a bed. When the body was reduced to a skeleton, the bones might be left in the burial chamber, or the jaw or skull be brought up and placed in the *hau suru* ("lifted up stone") as shown on p. 218.

the *heo* are specially connected with the chiefs and, in Arosi, with the Mwara and Amaeo clans also; other clans might have each its special *heo*; most *heo* were common property; but a good many *heo* belonged exclusively to the Araha, and Araha are almost always buried on *heo*. Not only one kind of burial took place on the *heo*, but the placing of the dead man on a bed under a roof in the pit or cave, and washing the body continually with water, was the characteristic form; however, other methods were practised, for example, cremation. Both men and women were buried on the *heo*. With this general preface, the five *heo* mentioned may be now described:—

1. *Tawaniora*

This *heo* is about 10 feet high and about 30 feet by 35 feet, its greatest length being north and south. It has been more or less built up round the core of natural rock and the cave. The last users

of the *heo* had filled in the shaft and I did not penetrate to the cave, the size of which I do not know, nor exactly its position ; but it was a small cave. The dolmen is now missing, and also the flint stone



A a natural rock. *B* artificial work of stones and rubble. *C* a shaft. *D* a natural cave in *A*. *D* a dolmen.

that formerly stood on or near it. The *oha* has long since decayed, but was to the west. The dancing ground was between the *heo* and the sea, that is on the north side. On top was a sacred tree *'aitabi*, and dracaena and a coco-nut at the corner. Only dogs and bonito were sacrificed on the dolmen. Firstfruits were hung in the *oha*, in which Araha children were buried, as will be described later ; in the cave only Araha were laid. The *heo* was guarded by a serpent spirit *hi'ona*, and there were actual sacred snakes there ; the sacrifices of dog and bonito were public sacrifices before going to war, and were offered to the serpent spirit, perhaps to Hatuibwari. The dead man was placed on a bed in the cave, and from day to day was carried on the shoulders of a living man to running water. This man, called " The keeper of the dead " (*omesuri rae*), then stooped down and water was poured from the stream on to the dead man and the flesh

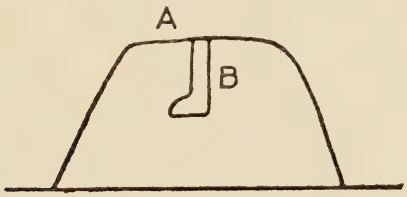
stroked off. The bearer of the dead man was protected by a head covering, but, of course, had a most unpleasant task, was for days unable to eat, and did not speak. Later a special feast was made for him and he was well rewarded. When all the flesh was gone the skull was removed to the dolmen, and the bones were probably left in the cave. The shaft was smooth and lined with stones.

The stone *A* is a flint stone formerly resting on the dolmen, in which the double (*adaro*) of the dead resided.

2. *Tawatana*

This fine *heo* has now been partly demolished by the Government, a piece of vandalism without excuse. It is a solid stone structure with a rubble interior rather lower now than the outer walls, which were 5 feet or 6 feet high. It is about 55 feet by 33 feet, and runs north and south. It has no cave, but a *giru bwara* or oblong grave was made in different parts and in this was a wooden bed, while a thatch roof covered the whole and a bamboo fence surrounded it. By the *giru bwara* were placed two small stone pillars, one for men, one for women (elsewhere referred to), also another curious stone whose use is not known. The dolmen is a fine one, the covering slab of stone being about 4 feet by 2 feet. The *hera* was to the east, the *oha* to the north, and a house for the keeper of the dead to the south of the *heo*. This was another Araha *heo* and was guarded by four serpent spirits: *Nanari, Keohireia, Uranga'i'abu,* and *Bongaariari.* The *heo* was used for *hei si'ohi* spells.

3. *Mwanunu* (Interior of Arosi)



This *heo* is of red clay, and was about 20 feet high and about 50 feet by 50 feet. It had no dolmen, and the shaft *B* now filled up was, as I am told by one who had seen men buried there, about 8 feet deep and enlarged at the bottom to form a sort of artificial cave. At *A* was a house where the widow or widower lived alone during the ten days of the *rihumae.* The shaft was lined with slabs of wood. Burial was like that at Tawaniora, the corpse being carried to water on the shoulders and the flesh stroked off. There was no *oha,* and offerings were hung on the branches of a sacred tree which grew on the top of the *heo.* There was no dancing ground, and the *heo* stood in the middle of the village. It must have been a very striking object.

4. *Ratana*

This is a bush *heo* several miles inland. It is an oblong, about 50 feet by 40 feet at the base, and 35 feet square at the top, and about 15 feet high. There was no shaft, but many *giru bwara*, one of which was edged with stones. The corpse was not carried to a stream, but bathed on top of the *heo*; it was laid on a bed in the *giru bwara* which was surrounded by a fence; and was bathed until the twelfth day, when the flesh was gone. The skull was then taken and dried in the sun on the top of the *heo*, and very early before dawn a relative of the dead man came with a large basket and held this out 3 or 4 yards away from the skull, which then leapt, I am told, of its own accord into the basket, and was taken and hung high up on the ridge pole in its basket, and sacrificed to, or, it may be, put on the *raherahe*. Getting the skull in this way is called *rarehi maa*. The *giru bwara* of chiefs on this *heo* were left open, while other graves were filled up with earth, the dead being interred. A *taohi* "sacred house" stood to the west of the *heo* facing north, and there firstfruits were put or they were hung on the branches of the sacred tree growing on the *heo*, a *ngari* "canarium". Pudding and pig were burnt as sacrifices on the top. Women could stand on the sloping sides, but could not go higher. There was no house on top and no one watched the grave. Anyone might be buried on the *heo*.

5. *'Ubuna*

This is a typical small *heo* 20 feet by 30 feet and about 2 feet high. It has a dolmen and a pit in the centre, and two sacred trees *'ado'a* (nut) and *tataro* "a flowering ornamental tree", and dracaena bushes. On it was the broken food bowl of the last man buried; and in the dolmen some skulls. The *hera* was to the east. The *heo* is in the middle of the modern village.

Torona

The *torona*, which I saw near Pamua, was said by the people to be artificial, but proved to be a natural limestone knoll about 30 feet high and 300 yards in circumference; probably once an island before the coast was elevated.

At the top *A* to the north there are sacred trees—banyan, *tobaa*, and *awa*. Near these the dead were buried, exposed on beds and carried to running water, as on the *heo* described. As these trees are those round which the dead are buried in circles in the interior,

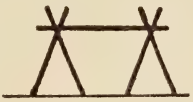
this *torona* seems to be a compromise between the two methods. Crotons were also planted here. Many Arosi *heo* of the Mwara clan

are similar natural limestone knolls ; and they form a link between the artificial *heo* and the rocks in the sea on which the dead are exposed.

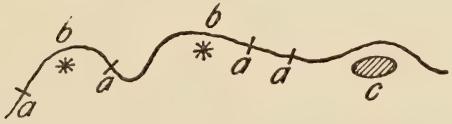
Mastawa or *Masitawa*

The first *a* is short and the *i* hardly sounded, so that the word is quite distinct from *maasitawa* " a landing place ", with which I had compared it.

The *mastawa* on the south coast are circular clearings, and ordinary men are buried round the circumference, feet towards the centre, in graves. They lie on their backs, interred fairly deeply, hands together on lap, tied at ankles, knees, waist, and chest. In the centre a chief is buried in quite a different way. An oblong



pit is dug and then bamboos are placed cross-wise at each end, and a ridge pole runs over the centre. Branches of trees are placed against this so as to form a sort of rough house or tree tent. Inside in the pit is a platform on which the dead chief lies extended facing east. When the corpse was laid to rest the house was formed and earth added, forming a hollow mound. An opening was left so that



water might be poured on the body and the bones removed later. After a time the house subsided, forming a low mound. Dracaena, crotons, and panax were planted on the *mastawa*, which is evidently a modification of the Arosi *heo*. Each clan seems to have its own

mastawa, the chief lying in the centre of his people. This seems to be a compromise between burial round a tree and the *heo*, the chief taking the place of the sacred tree.

The above is the plan of the plateau along the cliff above Mwaniwaro; *a* are *giriworo*, the great fortification ditches elsewhere described, *b* are villages, *c* is a *mastawa*. The last was a large oval hollow with a mound about 12 or 15 feet high and 30 feet square, and on the top of this a small mound about 10 feet square lined with stones (all that was left of the house of the dead) where a chief had been buried, facing north-east so far as I could judge. No one else had been buried here. As usual, there were dracaenas and a sacred tree, a nut I think.

2. Burial in a Grave, Interred

This is common in the interior. Usually the dead were buried in concentric circles round sacred trees, called in Arosi " the villages of the dead ". At Pounamu they buried the dead sitting with hands on lap, knees drawn up and tied, and a midrib of a palm at the back to keep the body rigid. This was the usual position. Sometimes the hands rested on the knees. Sometimes there was a seat in the grave on which the dead man sat. Sometimes the head alone was left above ground, so that the skull might later be removed. Sometimes a hollow tree was let down over the head to the waist of the sitting man. It stuck up out of the ground when the grave was filled in. Sometimes the man was buried extended on his back, feet facing the sacred tree, to which his *adaro* would go. Sometimes in a single grave a man was buried extended on his right side. Sometimes when the dead were sitting the hands were brought up to the neck and tied. I saw a child interred in a standing position. The dead buried in this way were always tied securely; and chiefs were never buried in this way. Moreover, it was certainly far more common in the interior and among the " dual " people.

3. Burial Exposed on or near Trees

These forms of burial were very common in the interior. Often the dead sat with knees drawn up, facing the sacred tree, or lay on a platform among the roots or low branches, or sat among the banyan roots, or were lowered into a hollow tree, or placed in a cave hewn out of a tree. All these methods seem to be compromises between the burial round a sacred tree and the exposure of the dead in tombs,

caves, or houses. They seem to be the result of the meeting of two ideas. Often the dead sitting round the trees sat in little leaf houses.

4. Burial in a Wooden Fish, Bowl, or Gong

In the case of burial in a bowl, either a *dara*, a food bowl for feasts, or *hohoto*, a long shallow trough, was used. A man was buried in a food bowl, *dara*, at Tawasurua which was very large, 5 ft. 6 in. long, 4 feet broad, and 3 feet high. The bowl was called Waruhiga. It was placed in a cave, and later acquired sanctity and was sometimes brought out into the village to make rain. But usually *hohoto* were used, very suitable for extended burial. *Dara* were generally used for children. In extended burial the knees were usually slightly bent as in sleep. These burials were similar to *heo* exposure, the bodies having water poured on them, and the liquids of the body being allowed to flow away through a hole in the bowl. In making these bowls, the sacred trees *tobaa*, *hata*, and *awa* are used, so that those thus buried did not lose all connexion with the sacred tree. Burial in a hollowed sago palm was different, for the body was interred. Two slits were made over the feet and head, and the ends were solid, so that the coffin was much like a large gong in appearance. Sometimes bodies put in *hohoto* were embalmed. Wooden swordfish and sharks were hollowed out of *tobaa* trees and sealed up with gum, and were sometimes used as coffins.

5. Burial in a Canoe or Cave

I take these two together because they are both cases of embalming. The canoe was lifted up on trestles 12 or 15 feet from the ground and slung between two tall poles, over a small *heo*, about 4 feet high ; there was a *hera* to the east with an *oha* and a house for the guardian of the *heo*. It was only for *araha*. The body was washed and put into the canoe, in which was a bed of shavings of *o'a* wood, and liquid from wrung-out *o'a* shavings ; over the body more shavings were wrung out and heaped up, leaving the face exposed. The body was sometimes painted with turmeric, and kept fresh for some time, allowing relatives from distant villages to view the dead. People placed in caves were sometimes embalmed differently. Two incisions were made on the right side, one under the armpit and one below the ribs ; the viscera were taken out and buried, and the inside of the body was stuffed with *o'a* shavings. Lime was then apparently placed over the incisions and fire applied close to these. The body

was placed in a limestone cave far up on the hills. People asked to be treated in this way so that " their bowels might not come out through their mouth ". I am told there is a body so embalmed 70 years ago in a cave in the far interior, and that it is still in perfect condition. Only certain men could perform the operation, and none are now living in Arosi, so that it seems impossible to get more than these very meagre details. These limestone caves are, of course, exceedingly dry. This form of embalming is called *tahamae*. The body is afterwards wrapped in pandanus mats, *ha'u*, or in the heated and softened bark of *gaha*, *doru*, or *marabare'o* trees.

6. Burial on Rocks at Sea or over Clefts in the Reef

This is one of the commonest forms of burial, and one very frequently chosen by *araha* or chiefs. On the north coast these rocks are limestone crags standing up out of the lagoon or reef; for example, *Hau n'araha* near Tawatana, *Hau si'esi'e* near 'Ubuna. On the top of these crags the dead body lay on a bed, being watched and washed by an attendant, till the flesh was gone and the bones could be removed. On the south coast there are many little rocky islets used for this purpose, very picturesque crags with a coco-nut or two growing on the crest. Near Waiboroni are two little islands on which the dead were buried, one used for men and the other for women. Over the clefts in the reef little platforms were built, and the dead laid on them. These burials were in the extended position, but in the caves some lay and some sat. Rocky crags in the bush were used in the same way as islets off the reef.

7. Burial in the Sea

This was a very common form of burial on the coast, and even some of the bush people practised it. In Ulawa, where it is usual, I was told the body was usually eaten by sharks. A stone is there tied under the knee so that the corpse may sit at the bottom, and the body is taken out in a canoe and dropped over. The word used is *kulu*, of which Dr. Ivens writes: " Two canoes take the body out for burial, the body is weighted with stones, and the knees hunched up and tied; after the committal one canoe paddles several times at a fast pace round the spot, the other paddles out to sea taking a relic of the dead." The paddling round and round is, of course, to confuse the ghost. Sharks usually eat the corpse quickly; sometimes in spearing a shark which snatches at the body, the latter is

impaled. But if they wish the corpse to be left untouched they tie round the neck or to the hair some porpoise teeth with a prayer to the familiar sharks (sharks which have exchanged souls with living men, not, as I once thought, sharks in which ghosts live), who then guard the corpse. Ordinary sharks attack a corpse, attracted by the smell, but not living men; familiar sharks attack living men, but not a corpse. According to Dr. Ivens (and as far as I have heard myself) people buried in the sea in Ulawa are always so weighted as to sit on the sea bottom, but in Arosi three methods are followed, sitting, standing, and extended on the sandy bottom. For the place where people are buried in the sea is over a sandy shoal, where one looks down through clear, green, translucent water on to a white sand cemetery, called *o'u*. Here the dead sit, lie, or stand. Two canoes paddle out, one a small one carrying the corpse, and one a large *surima* with a number of men. If the corpse is that of a common person it will usually be weighted at the knees so as to sit, or at the feet with stones or bags of sand so as to stand; or if it is the body of a chief, not only will it be bound up in pandanus mats like lesser folk, but some lengths of betel nut, palm, or the *tea* palm are joined together like a paling fence and then wrapped round the body. They extend beyond the feet and head, give it quite a different appearance, and cause it to lie extended on the bottom; really, the dead man's bed has been wrapped round him. When the corpse is let down, the son and brother or father dive down with it and lay it, or arrange it, in position. In the case of a standing corpse two branches are fixed upright in its hands. These help to keep the corpse in position and at rest on the sandy bottom; and as they sway gently back and forth keep off the sharks. But, as in Ulawa, the familiar sharks are entrusted with the care of the dead in this strange cemetery. After the corpse is lowered the canoes paddle four or six times round the spot, to puzzle the ghost should it seek to follow them. The canoe in which the corpse was carried may be destroyed or merely washed.

8. Burial in a House

This took place in the case of a child; if he was the son of a chief he was buried in the *oha*. The son of Taki of Wango was buried so, as many still remember; he sat in state on a chair in a little enclosure, decked in all the ornaments of an *araha*, the fence of the enclosure bright with plumes of sago palm shoots, constantly renewed. His attendant slept with him and daily poured water over him;

and later was well rewarded when a *bwea* "a feast to get money" was held for him. Children were often buried in houses, the body completely wrapped up in pandanus mats bound tightly round; and were often set up standing in a corner on two logs, or extended in a food bowl, and might so remain in the house for two years, when the bones were removed. A house with a beloved child's corpse in it was called a *ruma bao*, and a woman could not enter it. It was a child, too, who was buried in a large hollow bamboo stuck upright on a *hera*, the child (a chief's daughter) facing Maraba, the Isle of the Blessed, and the bamboo decorated with gaudy red grass streamers, which are the usual mark of *araha*.

9. Cremation

This custom is, I believe, confined to Arosi and does not exist in Bauro, i.e. it goes with the latest immigration of bird totem people. After death the body was either bound in pandanus mats, or more often simply covered over with a mat on the *hera* (for cremation was usually on a regular *hera*). A pile of hard wood was built up round the dead man, who sat in a chair wearing his ornaments (*dahi*, etc.) if he were a chief. Accounts differ as to the firing of the pyre, but an old man who had often witnessed it told me a brand was set first by the head at the top and the fire allowed to burn downwards, and that in the case of a chief the head would be protected by a hollow banana stalk, so that it would not be burnt and could be preserved afterwards. Other accounts say the fire was lit at the bottom and that it entered the vent and burnt out the viscera. It came out through the mouth, left open on purpose, so that, taking place as it did in the dusk on a high mound, it was a weird sight to see the sitting dead man wreathed in flame with flames pouring out of his mouth. After the fire died down the ashes were raked together and enclosed in the usual fence (*barabara*), and dracaena and coleus planted in the enclosure. Nothing further was done to the ashes. In some Arosi villages they only cremated their enemies taken in war.

The plan here given is of the *hera* at Haurangaranga used for cremation. *A* in the centre is a *hau suru* (dolmen), *b* are *giru bwara*, on one men were cremated, on another women. I am not sure what the other two were for. Children were never cremated.

When hollow figures of swordfish or sharks (generally the former) were used, often only bones were put in them. But if the dead were buried in them, the hollow figure was sealed up with gum and later opened, when the ornaments of the dead chief (usually) were removed. These figures were a common feature of *oha*. In the case of burial in a bag, the bag was very large, 6 feet high sometimes. The dead man was placed in it and the mouth of the bag tied, and then the bag, an old one, was put by a sacred tree and allowed to rot. The ornaments were in the bag, and sometimes the skull was taken later. This was a form of extended burial or else sitting burial. When a corpse was placed in a hollow tree it sometimes stood and sometimes inclined, as the tree was straight or sloping.

None of these forms of burial are any longer practised in Arosi, as the last villages heathen are accepting Mission Schools; but some of them I have seen in use. It is remarkable how many there were. A man said at death how he would wish to be buried, choosing one of the many traditional and accepted ways. I have not been able to find out if certain clans preferred certain methods beyond the fact that Araha were always extended, or, if sitting, exposed, never interred; Atawa and Amwea chiefly practised burial round sacred trees and the bending of the knees and tying up of the body; the bird clan people were perhaps chiefly cremated (the Owl, Pigeon, and Pwao clans); and it is said that burial in the sea was more usual with Mwara men than others; but I have not been able to record enough cases to feel at all sure of these last two instances.

It will be seen how the practices run into one another, and all can be accounted for if we allow four groups of people; one which interred its dead round sacred trees in a sitting position; one which exposed its dead and preserved them as long as possible in an extended position, as in sleep; one which buried its dead in an upright position, preferably in the sea; and one which cremated its dead. Granting these four groups all the methods are easily classed as different combinations of these four. The influence of the sacred trees *tobaa, awa, hata,* and *abaroro,* round which the "dual" people buried may be seen in the hollow fish coffin made from these trees, or the burial bowls also made from these trees, or the cave hewn in one of these trees, or the platform for extended burial on these trees. So those who buried in rock tombs could come near their custom by burial on the mound in a pit, or over a natural cleft in rocks, or in a natural cave, or on a high rock. The boat of the dead plays a great part among

one group. It is the group which practises embalming, preservation at any rate of the head, burial in rock tombs, frequent lustrations; the chiefs. The sacred tree plays the chief part in another group, the group which believed in an underground Hades and interred—the " dual " people.

We now turn to consider what happened to the man's soul, or souls (for each man had two) after death. First we may consider the *adaro*, the shadow from fire or sun, the ghost, held to be the malicious and troublesome part of a man; as the *aunga* was the peaceable and good part, which after death was permanently severed from the *aunga* (compared to reflection in a mirror or water). The *aunga* went out finally on the day of death, and set off that night on its long road to Maraba; but the *adaro* did not leave the body so quickly, not till the flesh came away, not at all finally till the tenth day; though on the fourth day, " The Little Passing," the connexion between the corpse and the ghost was much loosened. *Mena* still attached to the *adaro*, and therefore it was useful to keep it as an ally and provide it with a home. This was done in a variety of ways; it was housed in (1) the skull, (2) a stone statue or stone head, (3) a stone, preferably round, or merely a block of stone, (4) an animal, fish, reptile, or bird, (5) a tree. Some ghosts had no home, or their homes were destroyed and they became wandering *adaro*.

The head seems to be regarded as the seat of the life of a living man, and as that life is twofold and death divides it, it seems natural to suppose the skull will be a suitable home for that part which remains. It seems to be thought that the *adaro* will attach itself to any object brought prominently before it. It is fished for after death and put in the fisherman's bag adhering to a betel nut. The betel nut is kept for a time in the bag. When the skull has been obtained, it is put on the little platform called *raherahe*, under which sacrifices are offered, and the betel nut with the *adaro* is placed beside it; the *adaro* will then pass from one to the other. The skull is already soaked in *mena*, but this would gradually leave it. The presence of the *adaro* will retain the *mena* permanently. *Mena* seems to be a property of the *adaro*, but not of the *aunga*; the *aunga* is never said to possess it.

The stone statue was placed on the *heo*, and thus it was a natural object for *adaro* to go into. Some of these stone statues were merely of the head and shoulders, and the round stones of flint would roughly resemble these. In some of these very many *adaro* lived. Not every

Fig. 7. WANGO RIVER, SAN CRISTOVAL

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dead man had a separate statue or stone as the home for his ghost, but one statue or stone was the home for all buried on the *heo*. The painting red of these statues seems to be in sympathy with the painting of the corpse. Whether the stones were so treated I do not know. Stone pillars were also the homes of *adaro*, who seemed to prefer stone.

That *adaro* sometimes went into sharks there is plenty of evidence to prove, just as they found a home in the turtle, the skate, and the octopus. But the were-shark of Ulawa and San Cristoval seems to be a different thing, and is a case of the *aunga* passing into an animal. For the were-shark is called the *marahu* of a man. The shark-man and the were-shark perform *ha'imarahuda*, and what they exchange is their souls. This is so surprising a conception that it was long before I understood it ; and in an earlier chapter these sharks are referred to as the incarnations of *adaro*.

The descent of the shark-men is from father to son. Soon after the boy is born (when he is still *mweramwera*) he is initiated, I am not quite sure whether in the house or at the shark-rock. His father the shark-man takes him and hugs him to his chest and then crooks his left arm to represent a shark's fin, and puts the little child under his arm. Then at the shark-rock the child and his future familiar shark receive the same name. The child's *aunga* goes into the shark and I think the shark's *aunga* comes into the child, or else the two become one so completely that they share the same *aunga* as they share the same name. From that time the shark-child has his familiar at the Birubiru. If the child dies the shark will die, if the shark is injured the child will fall sick. The connexion between the two is exceedingly close. Shark-boys have gone to Norfolk Island and their familiars have followed them and been seen on the fishing grounds. The shark-boy goes regularly to the Birubiru, and sacrifices yams, nuts, money and betel to his brother. He fasts from bananas and puddings with coco-nut icing, and from all things women specially eat or make. He must not all his life eat eel or frog. When a shark was fired at near Pamua a shark-man at Tawaatana asked us to be careful ; he had heard the ball whizzing close to his head. Lately, a huge shark was cast up dead at Heuru, and it is believed to be the familiar of Songa'i of 'Ubuna, who had a week previously become a Christian. When the shark-man dies his body is taken to the shark-rock and bathed, and two long lines of lime are drawn from ear to heel ; while this is done two similar lines appear upon the were-shark, who also dies.

The best-known shark-rock of Arosi was *Hau n' Araha* "The Chiefs' Rock", where the *aunga* of chiefs passed after death. The last four shark-men here were Sinara, Mariia, Maewo, and Hida. A party of men going over to Malaita passed here and mocked at the shark-man; the canoe was overset and all eaten by the were-sharks. Famous Arosi were-sharks were Bweamwane, Onehura, Waguru, Bwariaba, Gereaba, Fotoagohu, Ihugeni, Mwarageni (females these two), and Riitau; most famous of all, perhaps, a great were-shark, Asimarawa, striped black and white. An account of the sending out of a were-shark to capture its human prey is given under *hei si'ohi* magic. Such men were usually strangled and given to the shark, but sometimes kept as slaves, for they always had lost their memory and never regained it, so that there was no chance of their ever returning to their homes. An account of Kareimanua is given in another earlier chapter.[1] The were-sharks were terribly dreaded, and even now those of the island of Ulawa, which is still largely heathen, are feared. Shark-boys could play about with the familiar sharks quite fearlessly. With no other creature was *ha'imarahuda* so often performed, and, except in this case, I believe, seldom did the *aunga* of a man go into an animal.

The *adaro* might become incarnate in fish, birds, or animals. In a previous chapter it was explained how the *adaro* might go into a shark, an octopus, or a turtle. In Arosi it is not uncommon after a man's death to catch a bird, an iguana, a brush turkey, or a fish, and take it to the *raherahe* where the ghost is, leave it for a little while and then put it back into the bush or the sea, the ghost being now in the bird or fish. Birds and fish do not possess *aunga* or *adaro* of their own (with certain exceptions, perhaps, to be presently noticed), but the *adaro* of men make their homes in them and give them *mena*. Omens are usually connected with birds, but here the idea seems extended from particular birds to classes of birds, for example, to the totem birds of the clan. The *hada* has been mentioned, and its friend (*marahu*) the *kekewe* fantail is the usual omen bird when the people go to war; the *Binauhi* or war leader seems to have some connexion with all *bina* and *hada* and *gaura* (birds of the hawk class) and with all fantails; and not merely with particular ones in which we might suppose particular *adaro* to reside. And yet it does not seem to be thought that the ghosts of a clan go specially into the clan birds.

[1] See pp. 74, 117, 189.

In fact the birds into which ghosts go are usually not the clan birds. There are many stories of ghosts of men living in particular birds. Sinatau lives in a hawk, two brothers in two hawks, two sisters in two parrots, Suriraha in a *pwao*. Many owls embody ghosts of the dead. One evening I was sleeping at Rewaa, in the centre of the island, and an owl flew past; a native said to my guide (they were lying on mats near me): "That is an *adaro*, it goes every night up to the *hera*"; so the *monoasi* when it comes in tired from the sea usually goes to a Birubiru (shark-rock) so it is considered that *adaro* are usually in *nonoiasi*. And if a native is asked about the omen birds he says they foretell because of the ghosts in them. But if we examine the omens this seems doubtful.

The *adaro* may enter a tree. This is usually the case where the dead are buried either in the ground or in leaf houses round a sacred tree and facing it. These trees are called "the villages of the dead", and are thought to be full of their ghosts. Though other trees are sacred, it seems to be these trees only which are commonly the homes of ghosts.

Many ghosts seem to have no habitation. They wander about in the sea or on the land. Such lurking ghosts are called in Arosi *wraohi* and are not feared. And there are also many *adaro* which are believed to be spirits and never to have been united to an *aunga* in a man's body, such as the *adaro* of the open sea (*matawa*), the *adaro here*, many *adaro* of the forest (*hasimou*); these possess greater *mena* than *adaro* ghosts, but, like the ghosts, they seem all to be malicious beings like the malicious, mischievous part of a man and not like the whole man, *aunga* and *adaro* united.[1]

The *adaro* of a man, which never leaves his body, and scarcely seems to be considered till he dies, remains after death in the village, leaving the body at the fourth and tenth days. It is a part of a man which is full of *mena*; it is the bad part of him; it goes into the skull, a stone statue, a stone, a bird, a fish or a tree, and seems to be immortal. It is not true to say the people are ancestor worshippers, because they are ghost worshippers; these are not synonymous terms. Nor can you rightly speak of people worshipping the dead, when no worship is paid to that part of the dead, the *aunga*, which is the more important of the two. They pay honour to Mr. Hyde because he is so uncomfortably near them, but they have no rites for Dr. Jekyll.

[1] For more about the *adaro*, cf. Chapter VIII.

We now turn to consider the *aunga*. In some parts of Arosi (as at Bia) the people think only men possess *aunga* ; in other parts dogs and pigs are said to have *aunga* and probably sharks ; and this *aunga* is akin to that of men. (I have heard of other animals with *aunga*.)

The *aunga* leaves the body at the moment of death. It dwells specially in the head ; but apparently pervades all parts of the body, and even extends to the clothing, the footprints, the food of a person, and to everything closely connected with him. For when any such thing is taken to a shark-rock or a *hera*, sickness to the man results, all such sicknesses being classed together as *to'o aunga* " striking the soul ", i.e. the *mena* of these places has affected the whole *aunga* and drawn it, from contact with these portions of the man. I have not read the Indonesian accounts of " soul-substance ", only what Mr. Perry tells of them, but the *aunga* seems akin to what is there called " soul-substance " ; though *mena* (a property of *adaro* rather than *aunga*) seems to have also points in common with the Indonesian conception.

When the *aunga* leaves the body it goes first to *Hau'iha'iha* " The Lifting or Uncovering Rock ", breaks off a bit and knocks on the rock, which opens, and it then enters a road. This road branches for different clans. At Heuru, if the *aunga* is that of a chief it then comes to *Hau n' Araha* " The Rock of Chiefs ", where it dives into the sea ; and when the people see a falling star they say an *aunga* of a chief is diving into the sea. In passing to *Hau'iha'iha* the souls bend down the fronds of a certain coco-nut, *Niu Tarau* " The Coco-nut of the Crossing ". The *aunga* always goes by night. At " The Rock of the Chiefs " it makes an oration describing itself, all the things it has done, great and small ; and gives its name ; and then dives into the sea and swims to the Three Sisters, islands between San Cristoval and Ulawa. There it stands on a rock *Hau ni tarau* " The Rock of the Crossing ", where there is a fisherman *A'oaunga* " Fisher of Souls ", who fishes for them with his rod. He sometimes lets them go again, and sometimes plays with them, dangling them in the air to torment them, but finally throws them up on a rock *Hau ni keni* " The Rock of the Woman ", and takes them to *Hau honohono* " The Closed Rock ", on which stands Karingapusi, an old woman, who examines their ears to see if they have been pierced, and if not drives them between her legs to a dismal place. But if their ears are pierced they join the other dead, who, having seen a dead *kiokio* bird floating,

have guessed an *aunga* is coming to Rodomana.[1] A dance is held in Rodomana to welcome the dead man, but he does not yet see his relatives. They dance three times on three days and bring him to his friends, concealed among the dancers. The *aunga* lives here for some time, and then swims to Marau Sound at the east end of Guadaleanar, to the island of Maraba, under the shadow of the great mountain on whose summit lives Hatuibwari. Here is a paradise of souls, feasting and dancing; and here is a wonderful river called *Totomanu* and the "River of Living Water" (*Wai mauri*). After a time the *aunga* bathes in this and becomes a *hi'ona*. If he has been a good and devout man (*mahasi*) he becomes *'unua*, he consists henceforth of immortal essence, he is said to be united to *A'unua*, the personal nucleus and centre of the pervading *'unua*, he becomes divine without losing personality, he is a god, and closely united with the supreme God. I think he no longer lives in Maraba, but it is very difficult to find out what is believed; most natives know nothing beyond Maraba. One who becomes *'unua* seems to be in future a sort of vice-regent for Hatuibwari, one of the serpent spirits henceforth; but all who have bathed in *Totomanu* become akin to these serpent spirits, since they are *hi'ona*. They may return to the world of the living, they will have a serpent incarnation, they are stronger than *adaro*, and they possess *mena* and can and do injure men.

[1] See p. 133 for Rodomana.

CHAPTER XVIII

RELIGION, MEDICINE, AND MAGIC

BEFORE describing Arosi ideas and customs regarding death, burial, and the land of the dead, it will be best to give a short summary of Arosi religion.

Two kinds of beings are believed in, *Figona* and *Adaro*. In Arosi, *figona* are almost always thought of as spirits—beings that have never been men, or men who have bathed in the river of life in Rodomana, the land of the dead—which is not always the case in Bauro, where *figona* are sometimes ghosts of the dead. *Adaro* are almost always ghosts, but there are some *adaro* who are considered to be spirits. A general account of the beliefs in *adaro* and *figona* in San Cristoval has already been given in Chapters VI and VIII. But there are two *figona* which must be more fully described, Hatuibwari and Agunua. The Melanesian conception of Agunua is very difficult to discover. There is, it would appear, a vital essence called *'unua*, which is the source of all *mena* (see p. 251) and all life. The final destiny of souls is to become *'unua*, without apparently losing personality, and this word *'unua* is used with the personal prefix *a* to describe what seems to be conceived of as a personal nucleus of *'unua*. Agunua, Mr. Drew and I were told, was not one *hi'ona*, but " all of them " ; it seems doubtful if Agunua is male, but probably he is so conceived. He is the supreme being, and prayers were addressed to him.

But there is a *figona* so powerful as to seem to dispute with Agunua his position, the *Figona* Hatuibwari ; and the supreme being of Arosi is rather this great *figona* than Agunua.

A native drawing of Hatuibwari is given on p. 237. He is a Serpent with a human head containing four eyes and four teeth,

Fig. 8. A NATIVE DRAWING OF HATUIBWARI, THE WINGED SERPENT

[face p. 236

and this Serpent is a Winged Serpent. More remarkable still, although he is male he is represented as having female breasts, from which he gives suck to all created things.[1] These attributes of Hatuibwari I only learned gradually; it is only certain men who know anything about him at all, beyond his name, and they are very unwilling to speak of him; but as I learnt more, and they found I had some knowledge of him, they spoke more freely.

Hatuibwari lives at the same time on the summits of sacred hills, and also in *'Aha'aha*. Where and what is *'Aha'aha*? The same word is used for the canoe in which dead Araha were embalmed, and elsewhere I have translated this "lifted up, lofty", or perhaps "the sky".[2] The word for the sky, however, is *ahaaha*, and not *'aha'aha*; still I think that the two words must have a common origin, and that the home of Hatuibwari and the canoe of the dead are alike spoken of by a word which is at least closely allied to the word for the sky.

Hatuibwari lives on the summits of sacred mountains. *Bwari* means summit; and this is probably the meaning of this portion of his name. But what is *Hatu* or *Hau* (for it appears in both forms)? In Arosi *hau* has two meanings, a stone, rock, or lump; and, as a prefix, it is used with the names of famous men (including those of the first two Araha to arrive at Ulawa); in the form of *hau huu* (*huu* means everlasting, original, continuous), it is used for any supremely great Araha. Fornander writes: "In the Polynesian dialects proper we find *Patu* and *Patupatu* 'Stone' in New Zealand; *Fatu* in Taheti and Marquesas, signifying 'Lord', 'Master', also 'Stone'; *Haku* in the Hawaiian means 'Lord', 'Master', while with the intensitive prefix *Po* it becomes *Pohakum* 'a Stone'."[3] So that in Polynesian languages the word has a double meaning, as in Arosi. *Hatu* in Arosi is used of lump or swelling. Other forms of his name in Arosi are Hatoibwari, Haudibwari, Hasibwari. I think his name must be translated "Lord or Rock of the Summit". In Bauro the feminine prefix is added to his name, and he becomes Kahausipwari. Kahausipwari is the originator of the harvest festival (but has delegated her power at Haununu), and yet in prayers at that festival Kahausipwari is addressed as Agunua.[4]

[1] See p. 238.
[2] See p. 211.
[3] Fornander, *Polynesian Race*, i, 49.
[4] See pp. 79 *seq.* for Agunua.

Native accounts generally agree that Hatuibwari or Kahausi-pwari came down from the sky on to the summit of a mountain, which is a different mountain in different parts ; and there is general agreement too that he became displeased with men after he had created them and they were numerous, and left them, desiring to go where he could no longer see them, and this spot it is generally agreed is the mountain Bwari or Pwari in Guadalcanar, a very high mountain which can be dimly seen from San Cristoval. Under this mountain lies Maraba, the paradise of the dead, containing the " river of life-giving water ".

He came down to the mountain Hoto (in one legend) and here he created men. It is curious that in almost all the tales the woman is created first. He took hard red clay and rolled this in his hands till it became plastic, he breathed on it and rolled it again, and then he formed a clay image, forming the head, legs, and arms. This red clay image he then placed in the sun, and by and by the heat of the sun caused it to live. It was a woman. Later, when the woman slept, Hatuibwari took a rib from her side, he added more red clay and moulded this also, and from this he made a man. This first woman and man had children and increased.

I do not think there is any echo of Mission teaching in this myth. I never heard it from the coast, but first got it from an old man of probably the most inaccessible bush village, Bonibwaroto. This old man was shown the native drawing of Hatuibwari by the native artist who drew it. He showed great interest and delight, but pointed out an error : " You have got his serpent body, yes, and his wings, and his human head and four eyes, but where are his breasts with which he suckles all living things ? " And then he told the legend of the clay figures. Of course, in a matter of this kind, when Christianity has reached a place fifty years ago, it is impossible to be certain, and people will probably follow their prejudices. I believe myself it is a purely native myth, brought to San Cristoval before the birth of Christianity. Andrew Lang very rightly observes that the personal bias of ethnological writers must always be taken into account in estimating the trustworthiness of their conclusions. There are some to whom the Bible stories seem to be anathema, and they unconsciously reject quite good evidence on no real grounds except their own bias. But the old men of the Arosi bush, who are uninfluenced by Christianity, unite in considering these stories of the creation of the first pair (and of the flood) to be genuine

native traditions, and I can see no good grounds for rejecting this evidence.

In the variant of the story told in the bush at the west end the *hi'ona* first makes a body of red earth and puts it on the ground, and then takes a coco-nut and joins it to the earth so as to make the woman's head; the eyes of the coco-nut become the eyes of the woman, and where we drink from the nut is the mouth.[1]

Lastly, there seems to a be good deal which indirectly connects Hatuibwari with the Sun: indirectly, because the direct connexion is between the Araha, chiefs, and the Sun. A widow of an Araha is said to "marry the sun", and does not marry again. Some children are said to have a disease called *sina*, the sun, because their mothers went into the sun at the time of conception; the disease is a body that is continually sweating while the patient feels cold; but I am uncertain if these are specially Araha woman. Another point to notice is the method of descent of the priesthood at Haununu; the priest's grandson succeeded him, and this boy's mother was called *ainuni* or *hehene gana hi'ona* (Hatuibwari) "the Spirit's woman (or) wife"; and the word used for "belonging to" is not *ana* but the far stronger *gana*, which must mean that the spirit *acted upon* the woman, so that her son would be the child of Hatuibwari, and all the priests would be so. Now the Araha women marry the sun, and an Araha man personates Hatuibwari in the *Ho'asia*, speaking in his name from the top of the hill. Is it not then probable that these priests are all sun-children by means of this succession from grandfather to grandson?

Araha are connected with the sun by their ornaments. The shell money is called, we have seen, "sun-blood" (*bunarito*), and this is properly worn only by Araha. The *ararede* in the lobe of the ear, a rayed shell disk hung with "sun-blood" and replaced by white disks of the tree which gives fire, surely represents the sun. The large

[1] At Ulawa the people say that the older form of worship was that of O'oa, a *figona* who created things, and to whom the firstfruits of yams and nuts were offered at the harvest. The people of Ulawa cannot eat bananas, and this is said to have been a taboo of O'oa (it is referred to by Dr. Codrington). He was killed by another *figona* but came to life again. From this account he might be an *akalo* as Dr. Codrington supposed, but there is one custom regarding O'oa which seems to connect him with Hatuibwari. Once a year a live dog is driven from the brow of the cliff into the sea; the dog is supposed to be laden with all the sicknesses; if it swims out to sea all is well, it will bear away from the people all the sicknesses of that year; if the dog turns back it is a bad sign. And this dog is called "O'oa's dog".

shell disk worn only by Araha on the forehead is called directly the disk of the sun (*mateisina*). And the last operation in raising a boy to be an *araha* is to tattoo the sun on his shoulder. Again the canoe for embalming an Araha is called the *'aha'aha*, and this is the name of the dwelling place of Hatuibwari and closely allied to the word *ahaaha*, the sky. These facts (taken together with the offering, evidently to Hatuibwari, in a thunderstorm) seem to connect Hatuibwari with the Sun.

The Soul

We may now turn from the consideration of Hatuibwari to the nature of the soul of man and its destiny.

It is believed that men have two souls which, after death, separate and have completely different histories; and without this key Arosi ideas and customs are very puzzling; but once this belief is grasped many customs become intelligible.

The names of the two souls are *aunga* and *adaro*; the *aunga* finally becomes a *figona*. The word *aunga* appears as *tarunga* in Marau Sound in Guadalcanar, but *tarunga* there means a *figona*.

The *aunga* of a man, though it resides in his head, seems to have the power of leaving its home very easily: it may either leave the man at his own wish, or may be attracted away by the influence of *mena*. It seems to be less tied to the man than the *adaro*, as it finally loses all connexion with him on the day of death, whereas the *adaro* does not go out until the fourth day. The *aunga* leaves a man in sleep and in dreams and in sickness. In sleep and dreams it goes out of its own accord, or from some sudden shock (causing the man to faint), but its absence in sickness is owing to the fact that it has been attracted from the man by the action of external *mena*. It may be drawn out by an *adaro* ghost, or by a *hi'ona* spirit, or by an *adaro ni matawa* "a spirit of the sea", or by Hatuibwari. The strange actions of sickness, delirium, unconsciousness, are owing to the fact that only the second soul, the *adaro*, remains in the man. The practice of native medicine depends on these facts. The *aunga* must be brought back, otherwise the man will die,[1] and there are two ways of doing so. First, powerful *mena* may be applied to the man's body, especially to those parts which are the exit of the *aunga*, and, as external *mena* has drawn it away, so applied *mena* may draw it back. All, or at any rate most,

[1] Cf. the *hau* among Maoris: Elsdon Best, "Forest Lore," Transactions N.Z. Institute, 1909, p. 436. Mr. Best calls the *hau* the vital essence.

native remedies seem to be based on this principle. Secondly, another man's *aunga* may go and search for it and bring it back; and this is the more usual method, adopted by native doctors, especially if the *mena* should fail. The exits of the *aunga* are, first and chiefly, the fontanelle; secondly, the mouth, nose, ears, and navel. The *aunga* is sometimes compared with the reflection in water or a glass, the *adaro* with the shade caused by the sun, a man's shadow.

The Arosi theory of the nature of man's spiritual existence is found in the use and meaning of the words *'unua, aunga, adaro, mena, figona.* The Arosi priest seems to conceive of *'unua* as a pervading vital essence quite unrelated in its pure state to any corporeal existence, and having no incarnation. This *'unua* is the source of all power, *mena*; a word, however, which he seems to use always for the power of particular portions of *'unua* residing in men, animals, or inanimate objects. The *'unua* when it becomes incorporated in men and certain animals, giving them a superior consciousness and personality, he calls *aunga* and *adaro*; (and *figona* in spiritual beings that have not been men, or which have been men but suffered a change in the wonderful river of Rodomana). In using these words he seems to be using two terms about which there is some confusion of thought, for some *adaro* he thinks were never men. The *aunga* is the good part of a man, the Dr. Jekyll, while the *adaro* is the malicious and bad part, the Mr. Hyde. The former, he thinks, will revert to the *'unua*, the latter will remain on earth, probably with a new incarnation; it may be destroyed, but will not die of itself. The curious thing about it is that it seems to be the chief source of *mena*; but possibly that is because the *aunga* passes away, and men have no more concern with it, but the *adaro* remaining near living men touches them nearly.

This Arosi theory of man's spiritual nature is a very interesting one, and explains many things in his world of experience very well. It explains how two souls seem to contend in his nature, a bad and a good, for this is his experience as well as that of other men. It explains many things which he accepts as facts, such as the body of beliefs which we call spiritualism, possession, movements of natural objects without human agency; in fact, most of Sir Oliver Lodge's facts he would accept and say they are due to the liberated Mr. Hydes of countless men. The *adaro* he compares with a man's shadow, his double; the *aunga* with a man's reflection; he only uses these expressions as illustrations of his belief. His theory of the soul explains to him sickness; his belief that the *aunga* pervades the whole

body gives the explanation of his theory of magic ; anything that has even been connected closely with the man is thenceforward connected with his *aunga*, and the whole *aunga* can be affected by action of *mena* upon a part. It does not surprise him to read in the New Testament that people were healed by napkins saturated with *sweat* from a saint, that a woman touched the hem of Christ's *garment*, that the sick were satisfied if Peter's *shadow* fell on them, that the *spittle* was used to impart *mena* to blind eyes. All this agrees entirely with his own beliefs, except that this *mena* is healing and the *mena* so used in his experience destructive. He is not an ancestor worshipper : he pays homage to the bad part only of his ancestors, because that is a common-sense thing to do on his theory that only this part remains near and can affect him. But the result is a practical religion for the ordinary Arosi man, full of dreadful ideas, of constant fear, suspicion, and vague terrors as far as this life is concerned ; but not so terrible with regard to the next as that of some Christians. His hell is here, where his *adaro* still clings to him, and the *adaro* of other men, and similar beings, can harm him ; there he hopes to be free from these and from his own evil self ; it is in this world his demons dwell, in that he will bathe in the living water. The attitude of Europeans to native beliefs is curious ; most missionaries try to understand them, a few think them all of the Evil One and best not inquired into ; the trader treats them as so much rubbish, and thinks the understanding of the natives absurd fancies, a mere waste of time ; the Government on the whole simply ignores them, whether social ideas and a communistic view of society or religious beliefs, and is determined to govern and consider Arosi people as average Englishmen. The ethnologist unfortunately considers them in his study, and puts them in pigeon-holes ; how rarely he goes and lives among the peoples he writes of so that he may understand the atmosphere and setting and so be saved from the strangest mistakes ; but he has the advantage of a wider knowledge than the missionary, and can understand much which is obscure to the latter.

It appears that *mena* (and the Mota *mana*) is bound up with the theory of the nature of man held in Arosi, and that it is part of the religious beliefs of the Araha ; that is to say it is part of a highly developed religion introduced from without, and not the beginning of religion among a primitive people. The same must be said of Arosi totemism, for the ideas of relationship with animals are bound up with the Araha—the were-shark, the theory of souls in animals, and

the rest ; and the most developed form of totemism in the bird clan people appears to be the latest introduced belief. In the study of totemism, before we can affirm it to be a primitive belief of man, when found in some primitive people, we must be sure that no outside influence (it may be very old) has affected them.

Before considering the ways by which the *aunga* is acted upon by *mena* to draw it out or bring it back (magic and medicine), I will describe the work of the doctor who recovers the *aunga* and brings it home, he being paid for doing so.

The man whose soul goes for the sick man's soul is called a *waiwai aunga*, and to set his own *aunga* free he goes into a trance *mauru suri*. He goes into his house and darkens it, and takes off all clothing and goes to sleep. He must on no account be disturbed, because if, while he is in this state, anyone were to step over him or awaken him the *aunga* would not return and the doctor would die.

His business is to find the *aunga* of the sick man. Perhaps the man has gone where there are *adaro* or *hi'ona* (a *dora maea* " sacred place ") ; or through *mena* the *aunga* has been captured by an *adaro* or *hi'ona* ; such a sickness is called *to'o aunga*, and is a serious matter. The man's soul is in a *dora maea*, and perhaps a whole crowd of *adaro* are sitting round it and gloating over it, refusing to let it go home ; still more serious is it if an *adaro ni matawa* has captured it, as the *aunga* of the doctor cannot go where it is held ; but most serious of all if Hatuibwari has taken it, for then it is in the sky. We will return to these cases presently. But more probably it is only an ordinary case of sickness, and that means only that the *aunga* of the sick man has gone to Rodomana (the Hades), which will give the doctor much less trouble.

A native doctor thus described a journey to Rodomana to recover the *aunga*. He went into a trance and his soul came to Rodomana. He was in his natural body apparently, walked, used his arms, and so on. In Rodomana he had a *marahu* or friend (necessary in all cases, as will be seen), and this friend hid him so that he might not be seen. He asked if *A.*, the sick man, was there ? " Oh yes, he is here, he has been here some days." " Where is he ? " " I don't know, but I will go and find out for you ; you stay here." Presently the friend comes back, and says : " I have found him, he is dancing ; now come with me." They go to where a dance is in progress, and the sick man's soul is there dancing. When he came to Rodomana he had not intended to stay, but now he will not return voluntarily.

The doctor's soul watches, and then slips in among the dancers, seizes the soul, and rushes off, or goes along pushing the protesting soul before him. The people of Rodomana try to stop him and get in front of him, but he mounts up in the air and flies: he finds he flies quite easily, using his arms like wings. He gets away and restores the soul.

If the soul is held in some *dora maea*, the doctor's soul goes and looks for it; he looks in at all the likely places, such as burial places, sacred stones, and very often in the hollows in the trunks of trees. He adopts the same means as before.

If one of the great *adaro ni matawa* (see p. 124) "spirits of the open sea" have got hold of the *aunga* it is a more difficult matter, since the doctor's *aunga* cannot go apparently where the sick man's *aunga* is, or perhaps the *aunga* may be at a great distance and very hard to find, and also the *adaro ni matawa* are very dangerous and perhaps the doctor is afraid to face them. But again he resorts to a *marahu*. If Rakerakemanu has taken the soul (as will appear later, he can tell by the kind of sickness which *adaro ni matawa* has probably got the soul) the doctor gets a *mwarore* (garfish) and takes it to the sick person, puts it on his navel, and waves it four times round his head, and then puts the fish back in the sea. He then waits till the evening, and proceeds to *mauru suri*, his soul goes to the point where he let the *mwarore* go into the sea, and waits for this friend, who by and by brings the soul. The *mwarore* is "Rakerakemanu's fish", with which he shoots men on the reef. If Tararamanu has taken the soul a friend must be found in Tararamanu's fish, the *ba'a*, and so on with other famous *adaroni matawa* such as Kenihura.

If the doctor looks in vain in Rodomana, sacred places, and the sea, Hatuibwari must have taken the *aunga*. (It will be remembered Hatuibwari is said to put the souls into the womb before birth.) This is the case in very serious sicknesses, and probably, I think, in epidemics. In this case the doctor gets the fat of a sacrificed pig (formerly dog) and burns it, and goes into his trance in the evening (cf. Abraham, Gen. xv), and his *aunga* ascends in the column of smoke to the sky. There also he finds a *marahu* to speak for him (presumably a *figona*, but I do not know), and this friend asks the *aunga* from Hatuibwari. He may ask three times, but if he asks a fourth time, and it is refused, he must return without the *aunga*, and the man will die, for there is no snatching of the soul possible here.

Bearing these facts in mind, we can now turn to consider sicknesses and their native remedies, remembering that the *aunga* has to be drawn back from Rodomana, or from a sacred place, or the sea, or the sky (but probably in the last case no remedies are used with much hope) by the drawing power of strong *mena*, just as it was drawn out of the body by *mena*.

Medical Treatment

The remedies applied to the sick are methods of bringing in *mena* to counteract the *mena* which has caused the sickness; and as there are three chief vehicles, or good conductors, of *mena*, these are largely employed, namely, water, breath, and lime. Water is referred to under magic, and also the breath, but something must be said about lime, *hasiahu*, obtained by burning *rade*, a coral. Of course, lime is now a necessary article for betel-chewing, as necessary as matches to the smoker, but the application of lime to the body to give *mena* must be much earlier than this. Betel-chewing though now so widespread, and though betel nut is now so usual a sacrifice and appears in so many rites, is a comparatively recent practice. Tradition remembers the time when the ingredients were scarce and had to be bought; some Ulawa natives even estimated that the practice was not more than 200 years old, but that may be an under-estimate; it is remembered that at *rihumae*, death feasts, people learning the habit (which was not yet a recognized one) used to hold up kava before their mouths to hide what they were doing. But if betel-chewing is comparatively recent, and therefore lime was not needed for this purpose, why was lime made and why was it considered a good conductor of *mena*? A young man going to a feast smeared lime under his armpit and behind his ear to protect himself from possible adverse *mena*; the shark-man at death had long lines of lime marked on his body; the Mwakomwako dancers (who were the dead) had a crescent moon of lime on the breast; lime was used when embalming the corpse of an Araha, and in almost all magic. It is probably conceived to be the very best conductor of *mena*. What led to its use and this belief in its qualities? This inquiry would have to be extended probably far beyond San Cristoval to get the true reason; however, I may point out one reason—the use of lime, and its necessity for the production of dyes and pigments. In staining the Arosi bark cloth, lime is necessary for producing the blue and pink stains, the vegetable products used are not of themselves

sufficient; but especially is lime necessary in producing the all-important red dye for the scarlet crown of the Araha, the *areare* of his canoe, and the grass armlets. So in Mota in the Banks Islands betel-chewing is not practised, but lime is necessary for making the red dye for the red feathers which are so important a feature of the Suqe. The use of lime as a *mena* bearer is not confined to the area where betel nut is chewed; but it is probable that its use is enormously multiplied by the introduction of that custom.

In the sicknesses given below not all are caused by the holding of the *aunga* away from the body; where obvious external factors are the cause, as in the breaking of a limb, the *aunga* is not supposed to be concerned, though the result of such accidents is to leave the *aunga* in an unstable condition in which it may easily leave the body. Many, such as boils, ulcers, swellings, are caused by spells; still more, such as shoulder pains, spasms, rheumatism, by the breaking of a taboo; some by more or less sacred animals such as the turtle, octopus, bonito, or *ariu*; others by *adaro ni matawa*, *adaro* or *hi'ona* holding the soul imprisoned; and in these last three cases—breaking of taboo, treating carelessly sacred animals or things, and the seizing of the soul—the soul is believed to be absent from the body. Probably no remedy was employed without a charm; even when these are not given or not now used, it must accompany the remedy, which will not be efficacious without it (much as Christians use prayer with medical treatment). Holy water seems to be the remedy for almost all diseases, or helpful in addition to other remedies; lime is usually an ingredient. There are examples of the *mena* of trees, and, in the remedies, of sympathetic magic.

The following are the names of some native sicknesses, and the remedies applied:—

1. *Ubu*, a boil; cause, a *sura'i* spell. Treatment: Charm lime and rub on boil. Leaves of *sukai* (smell like kava) a creeper or *korukoru*, a tree; heat and rub on boil. An ordinary boil is *ubuhau*, a boil inside that does not appear on surface *uburaro*.

2. *Keo*, an ulcer; cause, a *haisi'ohi* spell: a *mangita* has been placed where there is a sacred snake, or on the shark rock. Treatment: Take a dracaena leaf and rub charmed lime on to it, and stretch it out towards the patient, when the *haisi'ohi* will leap on to the leaf. Also heat and apply to ulcer the following leaves: *rarasi* and *boboihu* (creepers) crushed up. Also charm and heat fruit of *buru*, put near leg, hold over smoking *buru* a giant caladium leaf with a little holy

water and lime in the leaf, the *haisi'ohi* will pass up into the caladium leaf and the object (*mangita*) can be secured. This is *tarai keo*.

3. *Maea*, a swelling ; cause, a *maea* (spell, lime in path, etc.). Treatment : Charm a pearl shell and cut the swelling. Charm a drinking coco-nut (*niu marawa*) and give to patient to drink. Charm betel nut and give him a nut to chew. Also squeeze very hard, and gradually gather together, squeezing harder and harder till the *maea* (usually a little stone or ginger) comes out.

4. *Hugi mae*, a pain in shoulders ; cause, stealing coco-nuts which are taboo and protected by a *sura'i*. Get water in a calabash and charm and pour it over patient and massage the shoulder.

5. *Hu'u*, a cough ; cause, going to a place where a turtle has been cut up (sacred or eating turtle). Treatment : Charm a young nut of *niu marawa* and drink it. Charm water and drink. Take shoot of *haharaboo*, crush in *teteu*, and drink with water (both charmed). Another remedy (*raramea*) is to take the leaves of *raramea*, a red fern, heat them and drink with water.

6. *'Abu*, dysentery ; cause, soul captured by *adaro*, Wairabu. Treatment : Charm leaves of *kamau* (a fig) and cook and drink, also leaves of taro, and sap of *ruga* tree (charmed). The charm to cure dysentery was given to a girl by Wairabu himself, and is the chief point in the cure. Another remedy is to drink the sap of a banyan.

7. *Riunga*, an epidemic. For all epidemics get water, charm it, and either sprinkle patient with it, or let him drink it.

8. *Rade, Mimioo Tagaoo* ; cause of *rade*, going over coral (from which *hasi'ahu* is made) ; of *mimioo*, lighting a fire where person has urinated. Symptoms : painful urination ; urine dark red in *mimioo* ; very pale in *rade* and *tagaoo*. Treatment : *Roiroi*, a reed, is peeled and tied round the waist ; water is charmed and drunk ; the bark of *roiroi* is chewed. For *rade*, a bit of coral (*rade*) is crushed with *roiroi* bark, charmed, cooked, and eaten.

9. *Suaga*, constipation ; cause, louse on pig which has touched garden food of patient. Treatment : Charmed water is drunk. Charm leaf of *kakuhi*, cook and eat ; or leaf of *utauta*, a fern.

10. *Kuru*, inflamed eyes, red, with feeling of sand in eye, and white patches come. Cause, the white patches are *sire* (a land shell). Remedy : Take flower of *haharisi*, a tall grass, and move it backwards and forwards in front of the eyes, threading the *sire*.

11. *Pwarongo*, deafness ; cause, stepping over a broken nautilus.

Treatment: Dried leaves of bread fruit are burnt and when smoking applied to the ear.

12. *Maatai bwau,* headache; from eating too much of octopus. Treatment: Drink charmed water. Inhale the steam from heated leaves of a creeper, *waronanagi.*

13. *'U'uhasinagi,* sore throat; cause unknown. Remedy: Take a sharp bit of flint and hold it in mouth and then spit it out.

14. *Mata'i,* malaria; cause, possession by *adaro.* Remedy: *Taari adaro,* drive out the ghost; take a dracaena leaf, charm, shake it over patient, and carefully carry it outside with the *adaro* hanging to it, and throw away.

15. *Honu'ako,* pneumonia or pleurisy; possession by ghost of a turtle (*honu*). Treatment: Lime charmed and rubbed on chest. Called *Manawahonu* also.

16. *'O'o,* a wasting disease, patient gets thinner and thinner; cause, breaking a taboo; a bit of spear, etc., is in the body. Remedy: Take a dracaena leaf, charm, and draw foreign body down and out at end of fingers or toes.

17. *Ngau adoi,* vomiting; cause, eating an *adaro* on a burial ground. Treatment: Draw a line in lime from pit of stomach to chin of the patient, and puff upon this.

18. *Suri bwaro,* broken bone. Treatment: Put in splints, after first pulling straight; a splint of bamboo usually, and wrap tightly round, the whole process is called *ahi.* Also the crushed fragments of canarium nuts, or the stalk of the giant caladium is bound round at the place where the bone is broken.

19. *Uburaro,* an internal sore, from a spear wound, etc. Treatment: Drink charmed water, mark a circle round spot with charmed lime. Patient will vomit out the infected part.

20. *Mata'imisu,* ague. Treatment: Burn leaf of *'aitabi* and let patient warm himself. Take a large food bowl (*moke, hohoto*), and put upside down over patient, and let a friend beat on this with a stick till the patient improves.

21. *Hasingoo,* tetanus. Treatment: Pour charmed water on the clenched jaw.

22. *Tahunga'i,* spasms, child's sickness; cause, mother has eaten an *ariu* fish (taboo to women and children). Treatment: Open mouth and pour charmed water on teeth. Catch *basahu* (a small *ariu*), take to patient and lay on navel; throw back into sea.

23. *Nonga,* continual headache and vomiting and giddiness;

later swelling over eye and eye affected ; cause *haisi'ohi.* Treatment : *Haaibii,* a vapour bath, leaves and bark of *boa* or *mainato* put in bowl, with a little water and lime and then hot stones added ; patient, wrapped in *bwana,* bends forward over bowl between his feet, and sniffs up vapour. Afterwards drinks hot water.

24. *Kairango* or *Rakerakea,* consumption ; patient wastes away. Cause, the soul has been taken by Rakerakemanu, a sea spirit. Remedy : A flying fish caught and put on patient's navel and then back in sea. If the patient dies he must be buried at sea.

25. *Kawira,* a swelling, which comes and goes with the flow and ebb of the tide ; cause, the soul has been taken by an *adaro ni matawa.* No treatment except *mauru suri.*

26. *Pura,* or *Susu'uraa* ; dropsy ; cause, going on seaweed at flow of tide, the *bonubonu* (little sea creatures in the *arato* "seaweed") enter the foot. Charm leaves of *suka'i* and *mumutaisina,* and rub the foot.

27. *Oboobo* (*a*), swelling in leg ; when it subsides the testicles are swollen ; caused by *mena* of sago palms in a swamp. Treatment : Holy water.

28. *Oboobo* (*b*), pain in testicles ; cause, *mena* of a tree with red fruit, *babarahoho* (going near it) ; or from *heiu'asi* spell. Treatment : Leaf of the tree heated and applied.

29. *Rau'eda,* paralysis of lower limbs and great pain in loins ; cause, *mena* of a tree, *Rau'eda* (going near it) ; or from *sura'i* called *rau'eda.*

30. *Mari,* blindness caused by glare of sea. Remedy : Make a clear pool of water and gaze into it.

31. *Hurahura,* rheumatism ; cause, eating kernel of breadfruit when a child (taboo to children) or fruit of *huhua* (also taboo). Treatment : Leaves of these trees heated and rubbed on affected part.

32. *Boa,* asthma ; cause unknown. Treatment : Crush fruit of *ware* and wring out in charmed water, and pour water on patient. Or the sap of the sacred tree *toba'a,* boiled with hot stones, and, when solid, eaten.

33. *Bwa'era,* swollen testicles ; cause, *hi'ona* taking soul, or crossing place where bonito canoes are baled out. Treatment : Paint with charmed lime.

34. *Taha'abu,* pain in eyes from a headache or blow on the head. Treatment : Take stalk of kire *leaf* and charm it and run it up nose till the nose bleeds.

35. *Nugata'i,* homesickness; cause, leaving home; the body gradually grows weak, the *aunga* is at home. Treatment: Massage with *hasi'ahu, sukai,* and bero leaves. The whole body is massaged, down arms, up legs, to groin, down head to chest, chest from centre outwards, and belly outward strokes. This treatment also used for delirium.

36. For all pains in the body, and for headaches, bleeding is practised in two ways:—1. A miniature bow has an arrow of midrib of sago palm tipped with flint. This is shot at the affected part: if the forehead, this is first tightly bound with a creeper *aroabe.* 2. A bone of a garfish, *mwarore,* is taken (jaw-bone), and this is held in one hand and struck down with a reed, *ade,* by the other hand of the operator. Only a very few men can perform these operations. Only there are known to me, two Araha and one Mwara clan man. A flint stone is also used without the arrow, only by certain men. Blood flows copiously from the flying-fish bone operation.

Boils and swellings were cut with *'auhoa,* a bamboo knife with both edges sharp, with which the swelling was stabbed and then the knife was turned quickly.

Magic

One reads in some anthropologists' books, and in some anthropologists' advice to people who study savage customs, that one should be careful not to assume that savage mental processes are like our own, and that it is quite fatal—favourite ex-cathedra word—not only to ask one's friends leading questions, but far more even to expect to get at the back of the black man's mind. I remember hearing a brother missionary give an address in which he said, as far as I could gather his meaning, that the black man's mind was a kind of looking-glass one, the exact opposite to our's; they always did the exact opposite to what you would expect; for example, if a man insulted your sister you would knock him down, but your savage friend would go and kill his sister. I think my friend rather looked on the black man's mind as considerably blacker, and more mysterious by far, than his body, a realm ruled by reasons quite obscure and undiscoverable by the Englishman. But I cannot believe this at all. It is not the savage's mind, but his environment and history that are different. Our Melanesian friends do continually act in what seems to us a surprising way, but it would not be so if we had been brought up from childhood among them, and grown up among the same surroundings. And this is seen to be so from the fact that the longer

we live among them the better we know what to expect, and find their actions are not mysterious or illogical but depend on facts of which we are ignorant. That is all. If we knew the facts, or what we believed to be facts, we should reason in the same way, perhaps better perhaps worse, but in the same way. The fact is, we see very little of native life when we live among them, for the ordinary Englishman lives separate in his own house, and has the merest surface knowledge of what goes on in the village where he is staying. Few speak the language of the people with whom they live : beware of the man who says he could " get along pretty well " in the language after six months. But I do not believe their minds are " different " in some mysterious way ; we only think so because of our complete ignorance of their life. If it were so it would be a hopeless task to try to understand them. On the other hand, if their mental processes are like our own we shall with patience do so, always keeping in mind our own ignorance and ready to modify our opinions as new facts come to us, but putting down our failure to understand to ourselves and not to the vagueness or strangeness of the savage mind.

I write in this way before trying to give an idea of Arosi magic, which now seems to me only the logical and sensible outcome of their religious beliefs ; they cannot be separated, they are continually running into one another ; and to understand either both must be taken into account.

There is one word which runs through both of them and joins them together, and that is *mena*.

What is *mena* ? It seems to be conceived of as an invisible spiritual substance in which objects may be immersed, and just as if we dip something into water it will remain wet a long while afterwards, but gradually bit by bit lose its wetness, so do substances which have been in contact with *mena* retain their new quality for an indefinite period. The *mena* gradually dries off ; the Arosi man says the object gradually becomes " cold " or " weak ".

Mena is in some sense a substance, for it may be drawn off and put into a receptacle, and then one may go back later and get it again ; one may, as it were, pour all the *mena* of one's body or one's spear into a nut, and later come and pour it all back again from the nut ; the smallest nut may retain an unlimited supply of *mena*, because it is a spiritual and not a material substance.

Mena, both the thing and the word, seems to be related to *manawa*, the breath. The breath is the life ; the *aunga* (soul), if

it can be conceived at all, is *manawa* ; when the *manawa* leaves the body the soul departs ; it is believed to leave the body and come into it at birth through the mouth, and still more the fontanelle ; hence the head is sacred, and the lozenge-shaped portion on a baby's head (the *bwari*) is left unwashed and unshaven because it is the portion which surrounds the fontanelle. Everything to which *mena* is imparted is breathed upon. To impart *mena* is *mena'ai* or *menasi*, to breathe upon, *manawasi* ; *manawasi* must never be absent in *menasi*, but it is not the only thing necessary ; though it would seem to be the chief.

Mena in itself is a power, it may aid or may injure, heal or kill : that depends on circumstances, but in itself it is power ; it is always a dangerous thing to approach heedlessly, in fact, it is thought of a good deal as we think of electricity : it is not wise to approach carelessly a live wire or an object containing *mena*.

The instructed Arosi man, the priest of the Serpent, for example, will say that there is a great stock of *mena*, whose source is in the serpent *figona*, and in the last instance in a personal centre of *mena*, the spirit Agunua ; from this central source *mena* is imparted to *adaro* (ghosts) and to material objects. The ordinary Arosi native will say the source of *mena* is in the ghosts.

Mena is known to be in a thing by practical results. A great warrior is seen to have *mena* and all his possessions are soaked in it, so his club is treasured and handed down ; there is *mena* in it. Everything connected with the ghosts has probably *mena* ; the forms of words handed down from old times possess *mena* ; certain places are impregnated with *mena* ; certain men can manipulate it and cause it to pass into objects ; and so we come to magic. And I see on re-reading Dr. Codrington's account of *mena*, that what I have written is only what he wrote, perhaps more clearly, although in writing I have been thinking only of what I have seen and heard in San Cristoval.

But before coming to the magic rites themselves, it is necessary to consider a little further the process called *menasi* or *mena'ai*, the transitive forms of the verb *mena*. The chief part of *menasi* is the breathing upon a thing, but in Arosi this is almost always accompanied with a form of words and with the application of lime. Perhaps a form of words is never absent, and lime is almost always used, usually blown or puffed upon the object to which *mena* is to be imparted. These three things are used to impart *mena*, but there

are some things in which *mena* resides naturally, things connected with the dead, above all the skull; the amaranthus, dracaena, and certain other plants; and, as containing life-giving *mena*, water. It is generally believed that some virgins have had children through the action of water; certain waters are life-giving, but all water tends to this end, and women who wish to have children regularly drink a great deal of water, so that they may conceive; the milk of a coco-nut has similar properties, it is poured on a new-born baby's head, and poured on a corpse as the *manawa* departs; and it may be that the repeated libations of water on the dead, the carrying them to streams of living water, the bathing of the ghosts at Maraba, the island of the dead, in the "river of the water of life", which changes the *aunga* (soul) into *'unua*, the source of *mena*, are all connected with this idea of water as the vehicle of *mena*. The mother washes her young baby in charmed water, the sick man has charmed water poured over him from a calabash or drinks it, and to pour water (*dahi*) in this way over the sick man was the surest cure.

Mother-of-pearl, *dahi*, has also a certain sacredness. To *ha'adahi* is to use a certain formula when coming to another island, so as to protect oneself (in Ulawa, *ha'adahi* is to bless).

Certain shells are also vehicles of *mena*, above all the cowry. A crown of cowries protected the wearer from evil influences, the number in the circlet on the forehead varying from 5 or 6 to 13, and a large cowry was worn below each knee; while the prows of war canoes were similarly adorned. But mother-of-pearl and cowry properly belong only to the chiefs.

The Murex shell is also used as a charm, suspended from the topmost shoot of trees, in order to bring fine weather.

Very many stones are full of *mena*, but these will be referred to presently. Thus there are certain objects which are *par excellence* the vehicle of *mena*, lime, certain trees, water, mother-of-pearl, certain shells, and stones. These things are, as it were, good conductors of *mena*, and once saturated with it they will not quickly or easily lose it.

It will be convenient to discuss in turn the ways in which *mena* is used to save or destroy life, and the objects which have been called above the good conductors of *mena*; and, in connexion with the latter, to refer to the different kinds of taboo which prevent *mena* from exerting its power, which act, in fact, as non-conductors.

Mena is directed by means of *Ta'ahere, Sura'i, Buru, Haisi'ohi, Haiaru, Hai'uasi, Didi'usi*, and *Maea*.

1. *Ta'ahere*

The *ta'ahere*, called *vele* in Guadalcanar, consists of a small bundle made of a dead man's bone, which is burnt with *buru* (gum), and the teeth of a shark or any other creature which gives a severe bite. These are tied up together. The man who owns the *ta'ahere* lurks by the path along which his victim is to come, and points it at him. He need not be seen by the victim, so there is no question of fear acting on the latter's mind. Native opinion considers the *ta'ahere* to be very dangerous; the victim goes home and falls sick immediately, and probably dies the same night. The *ta'ahere* is believed to have been introduced from its native home in Guadalcanar.

2. *Sura'i*

Sura'i are certain small objects used to protect trees and gardens against pigs or thieves. In this way a garden is protected from marauding pigs, and coco-nuts, betel creepers and fruit trees are made secure against thieves, as the *mena* in *sura'i* is powerful.

For example, the following is a *sura'i* to protect a coco-nut palm or a betel creeper. Take the legs of *riri pwaranga*, a beetle, and mix with lime, and put them in a small lime-box. Add the shoots of a bitter creeper called *uha*. Expose the whole to the sun or a hot fire. The strength of the *mena* will depend on the heat; if the fire is very hot, anyone passing over the *sura'i* will be killed, and if the owner of the *sura'i* is merciful he will dip it, after exposure to the fire, into water so as to take away some of its heat and only cause sickness. The lime-box is then put across the path leading to the tree, but not in sight. No one, of course, knows whether a tree may not be protected by a *sura'i*. The words used when the *sura'i* is mixed are as follows :—

Rau'eda hiosia, a hiosia i wa'ana i abina, suruta'e ma ta'a tanaa isi, ta hio ha'amatongia, hio wa'ana surina ma hio wa'ana abina rau'eda a hiotari, a hiosia i wa'ana i abina, heiaru ma bwa'i arungani, ha'arahua noni ana si ma bwa'i arari, rau'eda hiosia, rau'eda hiotari.

" Swelling and numbness wind round him, wind round his upper thigh, he gets up and it is bad for him, just wind round to make him sit, wind round the end of his bones, wind round the upper thigh, swelling and numbness wind round in a noose, it winds round his upper thigh, charms he will not feel them, help him in his pain his friend and it will be useless, swelling and numbness wind round him, swelling and numbness wind round in a noose."

If a person becomes ill from the effects of the *sura'i* he can be cured by the following charm :—

Au aru'ia rau'eda i ahina i asi hanasi hanasi uwauwa odona si, madidi ma'i madidi moi ta'i daning, rau'eda i toro na'i ha'a'oo a'i ha'a'oo i uwaodo, uwana a'i kakasi goro, rau'edaitoro na'i ha'a'oo rau'eda i asi na'i hanasi.

" I charm the swelling and numbness of his thigh the sea pour out pour out from his right leg, and will ease, it will ease one day, swelling and numbness of the inland, will straighten will straighten his right leg, it will stretch out perfectly, swelling and numbness of the inland, will straighten, swelling and numbness of the sea will pour out."

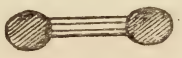
A *sura'i* I saw at Hawaa on the south coast consisted of a little bag made of a fresh and of a withered leaf, enclosing two small red stones in a hollow bamboo. It was used to protect coco-nuts, and no doubt had its appropriate charms.

Small red stones are often found in these *sura'i*, and a powerful *sura'i* is made with the terminal shoot of the canarium. This causes swelling and stiffness of the knee. A red stone is wrapped in it.

The best known *sura'i* is perhaps the *sura'i okaoka boo*, to keep wild pigs from cultivated ground. Others are the *'uru'uru ngari*, and the *ngahu rorobo*, the last of which affects the shoulders.

3. *Buru*

These are little charms generally worn round the neck to protect from ghosts and from accidents, sharks, drowning, and other dangers. One in my possession consists of two little pellets of *buru* (gum of the *buru* tree), ornamented with shell money disks (*Kora i ha'a*), and joined together by two frogs' bones. This was a protection against sharks, and the efficacy depended on the legend that in ancient times the shark and the frog were friends and, by a piece of deceit on the shark's part, they exchanged teeth. The *buru* is about two inches long.



Sometimes the *buru* are little hollow bamboos containing various things and well plastered with gum.

Buru is sometimes used in a wider sense to mean simply a charm for protection against danger, as in the following *buru ba'ewa*, shark *buru*. The occupant of a canoe takes his paddle, puts a little lime on the blade, breathes on it, and says the following charm :—

Hote mariuriu, maamu misia mwani diudiu, bwautahemu susu'i ta'aru, kekeremu na mangaauu tanaau, hote maraurau, maamu na misia mwani gau, kekerena mangaauu tanaau.

Paddle past, little ant micturate thy eyes, your head point to the shoal, your tail forked to me, paddle fast, brown ant micturate thy eyes, his forked tail to me.

4. *Haisi'ohi*

This is a spell for killing made from a portion of the food, clothing, hair, sand of footprints, and so on, of the victim. It is used by the shark-men, who have familiar sharks, in the following manner :— A stone is obtained, and a deep hole about the thickness of a stout wire is drilled into it (but not through it) to a depth of 3 or 4 inches. The drilling is done with a sharpened flint point and water, and is a very long and laborious process ; while the shark-man drills he recites the names of sacred sharks and ghosts. When ready the stone is placed on the sacred shark rock. Some of these stones in my possession have more than one hole, and the different holes are used for different purposes. The *mangita* of the victim, whatever it may be (but usually it is a bit of his food), is brought to the shark-man with a money present. He takes it up with a small pair of bamboo tongs, and drops it into the hole, and then lowers into the hole with a bit of string (being careful not to touch it), a fish or dog tooth (money) or a few disks of shell money. The money or teeth in the hole are then thrown to the familiar shark, who goes off to where the victim lives (it may be fifty miles away, even now the San Cristoval people fear the Ulawa sacred sharks) and watching his opportunity, knocks over the canoe, and brings the victim, dazed but not dead, to the shark rock and the *burus mangita*, as the spell-maker is called. Probably the latter is in his house, and not by the rock, but he is soon apprised of the arrival of his familiar, because the *aunga* (soul) of the victim goes and throws stones at the house of the wizard, who guesses when he sees the stones rattling about his house that the soul of the man has come and his body is at the rock (*birubiru*). The wizard then goes down to the shark rock, being very careful not to let the dazed and trembling man see him (or he would kill him), and gets the *mangita*

and throws it quickly over the victim, who after that is powerless, or nearly so. He now loses his memory and cannot tell where he came from or who he is, and generally has an altercation with the shark-man, asking his own name and begging not to be killed, while the other laughs at him. Finally, the shark-man gets a creeper (*raraasi*) and throws it over him, and he is finally helpless and is thrown to the familiar shark to be devoured.

The other hole in the stone is not used in connexion with the familiar shark, but for *to'o aunga* "striking the soul", and thus causing sickness by using the *mangita* and spells.

The holes in stones for *sumwa'oro* are rather different, but the principle is the same. *Sumwa'oro* are sea creatures, with sharp spines, which lie in the sand just below the surface, and many *haisi'ohi* are designed to make a man tread on one of these.

Another object of *haisi'ohi* is to make a man fall from a tree in nutting. This is done in a similar way, with a *mangita* carefully inserted in a hole drilled in a stone, or placed on a sacred stone or on a *hera*, or wherever *mena* is to be obtained. Great care is taken not to touch a *mangita*; it must always be handled with a small pair of tongs. The results of the *haisi'ohi* depend upon the nature of the place where it is deposited: if in these *birubiru* stones the man will be seized by the sacred shark or caused to fall from a tree or tread on *sumwa'oro*; if in a *hera* guarded by sacred snakes the *haisi'ohi* will lame him or cause severe swellings; and so on. People, of course, are very careful to give no opportunity for *haisi'ohi* to be practised on them, by burying their nail parings and cutting off their hair, throwing their *bua* skins into a *damutege* (a special little enclosure protected by *mena*) and so on. To practise *haisi'ohi* on a man is to *si'ohia*.

5. *Haiaru, Hai'uasi, Maea*

The first two terms are used for charm and spell respectively, magic which saves and magic which destroys. They are usually the formula handed down which are necessary to give *mena*, but are employed also for the whole process. To *aru* (transitive form, *aru'i*) is to impart *mena*. A *maea* is anything which has been *aru'ia*, e.g. a spear or an axe or *ta'ahere*, and may be used for charm or spell. It also means "charmed, saturated with *mena*"; and is applied to water, a path, a stone, and so on, so treated; and so it may be translated holy; for example, water marked with the sign of the cross

is without hesitation called *wai maea*. A *dora maea*, or sacred place, is one full of *mena*, e.g. where sacrifices to ghosts are offered, the shark rock, or the *hera* (burial place). A further meaning is "poisonous"; a snake which kills is a *mwaa maea*, and so is a snake which is the incarnation of a spirit: both alike possess *mena*. The word would appear to be derived from *mae* "to die", and to emphasize the dangerous quality possessed by *mena*. In Mota a *tano aruaru* is a sacred place, which Codrington and Palmer connect with *aru*, the casuarina-tree; but as it is used of places where there are no casuarina-trees it may be that here we have the San Cristoval word *aru*, and *tano aruaru* is the equivalent of the San Cristoval *dora aruaru'a*. Yet it is curious that the tree is certainly sacred and plays a part in initiation and death rites, and that its name in Arosi is *saru* or *tarumare*, while in Ulawa *salu* is the name of the tree, and *saru'i* is to charm.

Four persons were lately killed by a bushman at Aai. He did it by *haiaru*, in this case by breathing on lime and using a formula of words, after which he strewed the lime in the path after dark, and they walked over it without seeing it, and died a few hours later from violent pains in the stomach.

Another method is to smear (*more*) lime on a spear, with a formula, and then lurk in the bush and point the spear at your enemy as he passes, preferably without being observed by him; and he dies from the mere pointing.

A charm if a shark follows the canoe is to take lime, breathe on it, smear the *ruruda* (shark spear) and throw it. The formula is as follows:—

Au unu ruruda i abau toro
Na ba'ewa si a'i mae dodo i obwo.
Au unu ruruda i abau asi
Na ba'ewa si a'i mae dodo i asi.
Mae dodo i obwo, mae dodo i asi
Wa mai ruruda si, ro mwane!
Wai rubu'ia na ba'ewa, na suuri gaau si.

I throw the spear on the land side,
That shark shall die in the depth of the deep.
I throw the spear on the sea side,
That shark shall die in the depth of the sea.
Die in the depth of the deep, die in the depth of the sea.
Give me the spear, friends!
I will pierce the shark that is following us.

The following is a charm to be said at Na'oni Point, where very rough seas are often met with :—

Namia mwani ou nasi biowaa wou ;
A'i manora wou, wa'i to'o taha wou,
Namia mwani haha nasi biowaa na'i mwaana,
Ma wa'i to'o taha.

Lick it, Mr. Dog, and it will be calm right on ;
It will be clear onwards, I shall arrive successfully,
Lick it, Mr. Iguana, it will be a lucky calm,
And I shall arrive successfully.

The following charm is used when planting a coco-nut. Breathe on the nut, put it in the hole, and run away as fast as you can (the faster you run the faster it will grow) saying as you run :—

Orooro niu abau toro,
Niu agu hungu garitoto.
Orooro niu abau asi,
Niu agu hungu garita'i.
Adaada gege abau asi ;
Ana adaada hoasi ;
Adaada abau toro ;
Ana adaada i rongo.

Sliced nut for planting, the land side,
My coco-nut fruit all round.
Sliced nut for planting, the sea side,
My coco-nut fruit plentifully.
Clusters on the side towards the sea ;
Clusters for sacrifice ;
Clusters on the land side ;
Clusters for the feast.

Mr. Drew and I have given a full set of garden charms and some others (see p. 102). There must be many hundreds of *haiaru* and *hai'uasi*, as they are used on every sort of occasion. I have already referred to the difficulties of a mother with her child because of the continual use she has to make of *haiaru*.

To get a calm, take a paddle, recite an *haiaru* and beat the water with the paddle.

To get rain, recite an *haiaru* and blow towards the quarter from which you want rain.

To get good health drink water or green coco-nuts after reciting appropriate *haiaru*.

To get good weather, take the midrib of a sago palm, recite an *haiaru* and beat the air all round.

To make a pig grow fat, feed it with plenty of charmed coco-nuts.

To get a good nut crop, break some of the first fruit nuts (*bwa'ora*), and recite an *haiaru*.

To make a woman love you, take the end shoots of *'aihasi* and *'ado'a*, throw them down reciting a *haiaru* (not, said my informant, in the presence of the woman) ; or draw armlets down, saying a charm.

For weaving, canoe-making, house-building, and every craft there are or were the proper *haiaru*, handed down usually from father to son, without which they could not be carried out ; so that if the charms were lost so were the crafts in that place.

When a house is finished *suru do'oa*, rake together everything lying about, make a fire in the house, charm certain leaves and throw them on the fire, the house may have been built on a *dora maea*.

All these simple charms can be bought for a shilling (a fathom of white shell money) from a *sae ha'ahaiaru* or medicine man ; or they will be done for you for nothing. Spells cannot be bought at all if they cause death, or only at a great price. The *sae ha'ahaiaru* who charms your garden or your canoe will do so for nothing, but he gets indirect returns as well as prestige. Spells, *hei'uasi*, and many important charms, begin with the invocation of the dead, sometimes quite long lists of dead ancestors extending back far beyond ordinary knowledge, but I have never been able to get such a list.

Most instruments are charmed, such as the pearl shell for slicing yams (and then yams sliced with this and planted will bear well) ; a bamboo knife ; a stone axe for cutting down a tree (a large tree would only be cut down with such an axe in case it was the abode of an *adaro*) ; all implements used in clearing hitherto uncultivated ground (as there might be *adaro* living there) ; the hooks for bonito ; and so on. Generally these were charmed by merely breathing on them and saying the words, with invocations to ancestors, but the axe for cutting down a large tree was always smeared with lime.

Hei'uasi are spells, and as they cannot be bought are very difficult to obtain, and I have not been able to get one ; but they are in principle the same as *heiaru*, i.e. a form of words and the invocation

of the dead. They are handed down from a man to his sister's children, but are only given to the eldest boy and girl, who are the leaders of the family. *'Uasimwaeroo* is a spell to kill a *sinamusi* "a man experienced in war or travel", and is the most powerful of all *hei'uasi*, for it not only acts more quickly but it is sure to kill, whereas ordinary *hei'uasi* usually only lame or cause sores or illness. In the case of a *sinamusi*, a number of different spells are used. His usual sitting place has charmed lime sprinkled on it, his spear is charmed to fall on him and pierce him, and *maea* are used against him.

Maea, though a general word, is employed more strictly for charmed food which kills a man. Usually the spell is put on the food with the help of a dead man's bone and a form of words. Men will keep a small length of bamboo full of the soot of burnt dead men's bones. Such a hollow bamboo with its black powder is called a *suda*, and probably the European gun is called *suda* because it was thought to be similar magic, and the resemblance of *suda*, a gun, to the English word "shoot" is only accidental. This is the more likely, because to apply the magic bamboo is to *sudama'i nia*, the word being used with the suffix, and to shoot birds is to *sudama'i nia i manu*; and it is unlikely that the suffix would be used with an introduced English word. The Mota word for a gun, too, is *tamate tiga*, which is the name for a Mota magic bamboo, like the Arosi *suda*; but it was long before I could believe that *suda*, to shoot, was a genuine Arosi word.

The contents of the bamboo *suda* are slipped secretly into puddings and other food. Often a betel nut is pierced with a dead man's bone and then given to a man one wishes to kill, and fish and other food is treated in the same way. Food so treated is called *maea*, and we might be inclined to call *maea* a poison, but that the deadly property of the *maea* is the result entirely of *mena*, and not of physical properties in native thought, and poisons in our sense of the word are not used.

Didi'usi are little lengths of bamboo containing charmed lime and worn as a protection against *adaro*. *Didi'usi* of a tree such as a coco-nut, is lime sprinkled on the trunk.

Ha'adehe is to get a strip of sago leaf, repeat a charm, and tie the strip of leaf to the top of a high tree to get the wind one desires.

Charms for child-bearing have been referred to, e.g. bathing in sacred water and drinking water. A very common charm is the following. When a woman comes early in the morning to ask for

a brand to kindle her fire, and you see her coming, you take a brand from the fire and say this charm over it :—

Uhi 'eu rohoroho, gare a'i hasi poporo moi rodo
Uhi 'eu roaroa, gare hasi ponora
Ponora moi haaho'oa, ponora marau bia i aoa.

Blow the fire . . . , a child will quickly knot in the night.
Blow the fire . . . , a child will quickly come into sight,
Come into sight in the morning, come into sight like the *aoa* (banana) sucker.

You then blow the brand into a flame just as you give it to her.

A woman who has girls and wants a boy will sleep with a stone axe (*via*) ; while one who has boys and wants a girl will sleep with a *waro*, pearl shell knife for slicing yams, used by women. No doubt this, like the last, is sympathetic magic.

Buusuri.—A form of magic in which charmed lime is smeared on the soles of the feet, and then the man who does so treads step by step in the footsteps of his enemy and so causes his death.

Raburabu.—The bone of a dead man is scraped, and the powder is sprinkled on the tracks of an enemy. At the same time the bone is driven (*rabu*) into the footstep, as a man would drive a nail. Death results.

Rainunu.—This is a very good example of sympathetic magic. A man who wishes to harm someone goes to the forest and selects a shrub or tree, the chief point being to choose one in a windy spot, and perform the rite when there is a strong wind. He then breaks the twigs or branches one by one, beginning from the bottom, and saying, " I break your big toe, ankle, knee," and so on. But when he comes to the centre of the body he passes over that and goes on to the neck, teeth, and other parts of the head ; and then finally he says : *Oge mosia rogona* " Break off his liver ", as he breaks off the top shoot or branch.

To get rain, fine weather, wind, calm, and so on, it is common to use sympathetic magic. Thus, to get rain, water is poured into a *teteu* " half of a coco-nut shell ", a charm is said and the *teteu* is lifted up towards the sky ; or a coco-nut frond is taken and bent over to form an arch, representing the whole sky clouded over, and then when you wish to stop the rain the frond is broken. This is to *rorosia i dangi.* So to get sunshiny weather take a fan and say a charm and wave the fan about, sweeping away the clouds, or do the same merely with the hands. Or to get wind take a pandanus mat

and tie it up *ho'osia i dangi*. A famous ancestor of the Mwara clan, belated on his journey, took the leaf of a *tea*, a palm with red fruit, and caught the sun in a noose, and now not only Mwara clan men but others may do the same (may keep the sun from setting) by tying a knot with a *tea* leaf round a tree by the road side. One may see many such along the roads.

A good example of the magic attaching to a place where there is a stock of *mena* is the spot where the survivors of the traditional flood landed on Arosi. I have already mentioned the tradition of this flood, which covered the highest hills of San Cristoval. The majority of the people of those days were drowned, and you may see them turned into stone pillars at Mwata, but some were saved in a very large canoe. The leader was Umaroa, and he had with him some others (Arara, Oha, Poro'ua, Waita, and Rabei, and some more) and pigs, dogs, and birds, two of each sort. They landed at Robwana, near Waimarai, and descended to the stream *Wai abu* (Sacred Water) to bathe, when an *adaro* holding a bow came down to them in a rainbow (the usual *adaro* road) and told them where to live, after Umaroa had offered a sacrifice by the stream.

The whole place is now full of magic. Umaroa had brought a sacred stone, which they took about with them in their wanderings, and wherever the stone rested there is now a *pirupiru* ; the stone was finally placed upon Umaroa when he died. Wherever one of the original survivors died there is now a *heo*.

The rainbow is said to remain over the stream, or to appear from time to time, and no one can cross the stream when it appears. (There is no spray there to cause a rainbow.) Every passer-by makes an offering.

If you cut a tree there you must cut it right down, otherwise you will only wander in a circle and always come back to the tree you cut.

If you call a rope *ari* (the usual name) while you are there, the air will be immediately full of snakes : you must call it a *kunikuni* (to let down).

But most terrible of all is the demon herd of pigs, descendants of the original pigs. It is led by an enormous boar with a curious flat head. On his snout grows a tree wreathed in *'ama'ama* fern, and under his chin is a hornet's nest. If this terrible demon boar, Boongurunguru, comes to a village, someone in it will die. The demon herd can often not be seen, only heard ; but if, hearing them, you

mention that there are pigs about, the air is full of snakes at once. If the whole herd (*bia ni boo*, an ordinary herd is *wareaiboo*) come to a village, everyone in the place will die: as they come nearer and nearer they grow smaller and smaller till they are hardly larger than mice as they come into the village. They once came very near Heuru, as far as Iriawa—but no one ever sees this sight twice; they are " the demon pigs of Umaroa ".

CHAPTER XIX

BELIEFS ABOUT ANIMALS

I HAVE not headed this chapter "totemism" because it seems better to avoid that word as much as possible. Besides, totemism has been defined in *Notes and Queries* in a way which seems to exclude many beliefs at least closely related to it, for three things, it is said, "seem to be essential" to totemism "in its normal form"—surely a very cautious definition, (1) the totem, which may be animate or inanimate, is connected with a definite group (typically exogamous); (2) the members of the group believe themselves to be related to the totem (and often descended from it); (3) there is a magico-religious bond between them (and generally respect for the totem is shown by prohibition from eating it).

Now this definition excludes so much which most writers feel to be related to totemism, that they are driven to speak of "true" or "normal" totemism, and "traces of totemism", meaning that the things about which they are writing are not typical totemism as defined by ethnologists, but do seem to them to be connected with it, and to be capable of producing it, to be the germs of totemism or the traces of a past totemism. Whether the facts are studied in Australia, or North America, or Borneo, the observers generally seem to feel that totemism could originate from such a state of things as they describe, if there is not already in these places the typical form of it; and a good many writers especially are unable to exclude the use of the word totem, when relationship between a man and an animal is found instead of between a group and an animal. Would it not really be better to give the terms a wider meaning for relationship of any kind between men and animals, and then speak of group totems, individual totems, and so on? By grouping together all the facts concerning a relationship between men and animals we may find there are several ways in which what we now call totemism might arise, and has arisen, out of a belief in this relationship.

The facts brought together here are all those of such a nature, and may be grouped together under the following heads:—

1. *Ha'imarahuda*, or a bond of brotherhood with animals and inanimate objects.
2. Adoption of animals by men.
3. Adoption of men by animals.
4. Marriages between men and animals.
5. Animals which possess souls *aunga* like men.
6. Animals regarded as ancestors.
7. Animals into which a man's *adaro* (double) goes at death.
8. *Adaro* which take an animal form.
9. Men changed into animals; and animals into men.
10. Guardian animals.
11. Connexion of a Waipo group with animals.
12. Animals which are taboo or sacred.

Some of these beliefs are connected with one another. For example a man's *adaro* sometimes goes into an animal because that animal has been adopted; or a man may change into an animal because he has a bond of brotherhood with it. Omen birds and animals all have this power because they possess one of the relationships given above. And a man cannot send his *aunga* (see p. 240) into *any* animal, but only into those which possess *aunga* like himself.

1. *Ha'imarahuda* is a bond of friendship or brotherhood between two men, which is usually accompanied by an exchange of possessions. The things exchanged are personal property, the man's wife and his name. The relations of each become the relations of both; and generally speaking they hold all their possessions in common.

The same term *ha'imarahuda* is used of the relation between a man and a tree, a stone, a pool of water, a star, or an animal. When a man becomes *ha'imarahuda* with a stone, he often goes and sits on it. After death it is called his stone and is associated with him. The same general relationship is believed to exist between a man and a pool of water, or a star in the sky; in this way, rocks, pools, and stars receive names. Probably there is some belief that the man's *adaro* enters the object after death, but I am uncertain whether this is so.

In the case of trees the favourite ones are the nut (*ngari*), the Spondias dulcis (*uri*) and the *tobaa*, but these are not the only ones. In this case sometimes it is believed that after death the man's *adaro* enters his friendly tree. The selection of such a tree seems to depend on a man's fancy, like his selection of a human friend; he takes a

fancy to a particular tree, comes and sits under it, says that it is his *marahu* ; but there does not seem to be any exchange between them. He will not of course cut it down, and after his death his relatives will not do so—during life there was a bond of friendship, and after death it is " his tree " or " his *adaro* is in it ".

In the case of animals, I have only heard of two with whom the bond is often formed—the shark and the *hada* (hawk). In both cases it is said this is possible because the shark and the hawk possess souls (*aunga* or *adaro mauri*) of the same nature as those of men. In the case of the shark (the bond with whom is described elsewhere) the man and the shark are said to exchange souls, or to have so intimate a relationship that whatever one feels the other feels, if one falls sick the other does, and so on. These sacred sharks are the *marahu* (see p. 54) of living men, not sharks in which ghosts live ; but though this is the universal view taken of them, there can be no doubt that the belief is also held that after death *adaro* go into sharks, often the *adaro* of the shark men ; and there is some confusion as to whether a shark is the home of an *adaro* or the *marahu* of a living man. The shark friend helps his human brother in all his quarrels.

The other animal with whom *ha'imarahuda* often takes place is the hawk called *hada* (the totem of the chief's clan). A man who has a *marahu* hawk is helped in hunting cuscus by his hawk friend wheeling round the tree in which the cuscus is. But it is said that the soul of the hawk is evil, and that he is a very dangerous friend, apt to destroy his *marahu*. The hawk is the incarnation of some *adaro*, maybe those of *marahu*.

The *tehe* hawk, the yellow-breast wawaitoto, the green *pwakaka* lizard, a red snake, the rat, the *weri* millipede, the hermit crab (*kou*), the bat (*roge*), the prawn (*'oree*), are all sometimes said to have an *aunga* similar to that of a man ; but with none of them does it seem to be the custom to perform *ha'imarahuda*.

The case of the bonito is different ; people are not said to become *ha'imarahuda* with it, but yet it stands quite apart in native thought from all other fish, and has a very sacred character. It will be remembered that boys go through their initiation specially to learn bonito fishing, that they drink its blood, and that they finally enter a representation of its body. In the tale of Sautabaia'o'o he fishes for bonito with dracaena leaves, just as men fish for *adaro* with dracaena leaves, and the initiated chief is called *adaronai waiau* ; so that evidently the bonito is no ordinary fish, and probably it has a soul.

If a boy is combing his hair (*'aha'aha*) by the shore, as he combs out the bugs he will say to the others : *Ro mwane, 'ome hura'ai matawa, pwotegu ra heiterehi !* " Boys, look out to sea, my *pwote* (the bugs) are coming down," i.e. if they will look out they will see bonito coming (his *marahu* he says) as the bugs are combed out ; the souls of the bonito are in the insects, and they come to him because he is the *marahu* of the bonito. But the others laugh at this presumption, and point to a crab or something else, and say, " There's your *marahu* ; see how he comes up as you comb." This is a very favourite form of chaff ; and it shows the idea of a soul being in the bonito and of its being sent out in the form of insects to visit its friend.

When the bonito fish come toward the shore, they are said to *dio* (to come down, or to land), a word which is not used of any other fish except *buma*.

2. *Adoption of animals.* This is a very common practice, the man makes a pet of an animal feeding it regularly ; an Englishman seeing it in the house would simply say the man was keeping a pet. However, he is said to *suru* (adopt) it ; he calls the animal *gare* (child) ; and the animal is considered to be the relative of all the man's relations, just as his human *gare* are ; very often the man's *adaro* goes into the adopted animal at his death. Sometimes when an animal is adopted, for example, a brush turkey, a relationship is thought to have been formed with all animals of that kind, because the brush turkey will bring its mates into the house. Lately there was a man at Bia who adopted a brush turkey as his *gare,* and his house used to be full of these birds. After death his *adaro* passed into the brush turkey, and any brush turkey is now an omen bird for his relations ; if one of them sees a brush turkey on his right hand he himself will die, if he sees it on his left hand one of his clansmen will die. The animals adopted are pigeons, parrots (very common), *tehe* hawk, bats, the *kaoa* bird (egret), snakes, lizards, turtles, cuscus, and brush turkeys. Such animals are called *Hangani* " Fed ", i.e. a pet, and names are given to them ; but they are much more than pets, they are members of the clan with a regular standing. Adoption of a boy gives him exactly the standing of a real son, no distinction is made, and he is even said to have come from the womb of his adopted mother ; they cannot at once understand our emphasis on the distinction between " real " and " adopted " children. Remembering this, should we not allow for a similar feeling about adopted animals ; must not they consider themselves as relatives of these animals ?

3. *Adoption of men by animals.* This takes place in stories. Just as the adoption of animals gives them a standing like that of relatives, so the adoption of children by animals gives the children the position of animals; they are called animals and are related to other animals of that kind. The following is an example of these stories.

A woman of Mwanehata was crossing a deep stream by a tree, and her baby annoyed her so much by crying that as she crossed the stream she threw it into the water. The eels rushed to eat it, but one of them took pity on the human baby, and carried it through the deep pool to the underground world in which the eels live, and there tended it, adopting it as her son. After a time there was a feast at Mwanehata. By this time the boy had grown to be a lad, and the eel mother one day showed him the rock door by lifting which he could return to the upper world. He pushed up the rock and found himself close to Mwanehata. He saw the preparations being made for the feast, and came back and told the eel. She gave him a dish of pudding to take as his share, and he took it by night, but no one saw who brought it. On the day before the feast the eel gave him ornaments of the finest sort, decked him out, and sent him up through the rock door. When he got to the village everyone was asking who had brought the dish of food. He went about among them, much admired as the handsome stranger, till he saw the woman who bore him, when he felt impelled to reveal his birth, saying he was the child thrown into the water. He then said, " I must first go back to my mother the eel, and then I will come again," and he returned to his eel mother, who told him he might go and live with men, which he did. His human mother acknowledged and embraced him, and he was made an Araha. But he often returned to his eel mother, for he was the child of the eel. After a time he married a girl of the village.

4. *Marriage with animals.* This takes place in stories, and the following account describes how, near Wango, the eel clan was formed, spread for a time, and then died out again.

Two men went up a river and saw a rainbow which stretched from the river inland. They saw a child, who led them through the bush to where the other end of the rainbow rested on a house in which an eel lived, the mother of the child. They married the eel and did not return to their own village, where the people searched for them everywhere in vain. A girl was born of the marriage, and after a time the two men went to the village with their daughter to a feast. On the path they were met by an old man who warned them not to go on,

but they did not pay any heed to his warning. At the dance which followed the feast, the girl was seized, and the people refused to give her up ; so the men returned alone to their eel wife. The eel then went to the village and demanded her daughter, and by her power killed all the people of the place ; and then she, and her husbands and the child returned, and they had other eel children, including several girls (children in human form, but the eel's daughters). These married and multiplied till there were quite a large number of eel people ; but they gradually dwindled and died out, till only eel men were left, and a few years ago the last of these died, so that the eel clan is now extinct.

So in native tradition a totem clan originated, grew numerous, and died out again. There may have been many of these small clans, resembling the group called Waipo in West Arosi, which have now died out.

When lately a land title was in dispute near Heuru, a man of the Mwaa clan claimed the land which belonged to Araha and Mwara. He justified himself by claiming the Mwaa clan as a branch of the Mwara clan, and told the story given below in support of the connexion between the two clans, but the Araha and Mwara clans considered that there was no truth in the story and repudiated the claim.

A party was journeying up a river valley near Tawaatana, and heard the sound of a child crying in a thicket of reeds. The people all ran away calling out that it was a ghost, except one woman of the Mwara clan, named Niuburu, who plucked up her courage and went to the thicket, where she saw a child with a snake. She took the child home and looked after it, and the snake followed and looked into the house, but was told to go and live at the *hera*, and went there. The next day she came again, and Taroburu, the husband of Niuburu, held out the child to the snake, who spat some snake spittle into the child's mouth, and then, satisfied, returned to the *hera*, which she did not leave again. Thus the child was a snake child, but she was adopted by Taroburu and Niuburu ; her name was Rerehaaiha'a. When she grew up she married and her first child was Maeburu, the first man of the *mwaa* (snake) clan ; thus the snake clan is the adopted child of Mwara clan. The spittle of the snake gave the child a snake life, and when her husband married, he married one who had a snake's life in a woman's form.

5. *Animals which possess souls.* At Bia on the south coast, where Bauro influence is strongest (it is on the border), the following animals are said to possess *aunga*, called there *adaro mauri*—the shark,

Fig. 9. YOUNG MEN OF HEURU

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hawk, bonito, skate, *tehe* hawk, green lizard, yellow-breast bird, red and black snakes, the rat, the prawn, the bat, the hermit crab, the millipede. On the other hand at Erihoro in the west part of Arosi, the shark, the pig, the dog, and probably the *hada* hawk were the only animals which certainly were thought to possess *aunga*. Children at Bia are warned not to kill these animals because the soul of a living man may take this form ; if the green lizard is seen in a tree the *aunga* of a man may be in it, and if the lizard is killed, the man would die ; *aunga* of living men often go about in green lizards. A man may also send his *aunga* into the yellow breast, and the bird will fly off and tell the man's friends that he wants them to come to him. He could not send his *aunga* into an animal that did not itself possess one. We have seen above that the *aunga* of a bonito may go into insects on a person's head, so possibly all these animals which possess souls can send them into the bodies of other creatures.

6. *Animals regarded as ancestors.* These are the *Hada* hawk ancestor of the Araha clan, the owl (*kahuko*) ancestor of the owl clan, the *pwao* bird ancestor of the Bwao clan, the pigeon ancestor of the pigeon clan, the *Kaopwa* bird, ancestor of the Aoba clan, the *garoha'i* turtle of Santa Anna, ancestor of the turtle clan ; the shark sometimes spoken of as the ancestor of the Bauro shark clan ; and in fact all the birds and animals from which the clans take their name. Probably other animals associated with the clans are also regarded as clan ancestors—the crab of the Amao clan, the parrot of the Uraua clan, the *ngai* owl of the Amao clan, the kingfisher of the Mwara clan (but not the fantail of the Araha clan) ; certainly the *agave* crab of the Santa Anna crab clan, and the firefly of the firefly clan of the same island. In Araha traditions serpent spirits are the ancestors of the whole race of mankind.

7. *Animals into which a man's adaro (double) goes at death.* There seem to be four ways by which the *adaro* can enter an animal. (1) By getting an animal and placing it near the skull of a dead man on the *raherahe* platform (see p. 230). Birds (especially the brush turkey), fish, and iguanas are the usual ones chosen. A living fish is caught, placed on the *raherahe*, and then put back into the sea. (2) By sealing up the dead man, or his bones or skull, in a hollow wooden figure and putting it into the sea ; it is then watched to see what creature first approaches it—fish, octopus, turtle, crocodile—and this will be the future incarnation of the man's *adaro*. (3) By noticing any animal or insect which frequents the house as the man gets old or is near death

—this is the future incarnation of the *adaro*. (4) By adopting an animal: when the man dies his *adaro* will go into this animal—parrots, pigeons, hawks, other birds, snakes, lizards, turtles, cuscus, brush turkeys, bats. It will be seen that many animals become *maea* in this way; they have not living souls, but the *adaro* of dead men, in them; they consequently have much *mena*, and they frequently bear omens and are consulted about the future.

8. *Adaro which take an animal form.* These *adaro* are spirits, not the ghosts of the dead; the chief one is the *adaro here*, Pwai, and his wife, who take the form of a brush turkey or a banded sea snake. The sea-snake, here called *Rihurihunga*, is in the Banks Islands, *mwai*, which seems to be the same word as the name of the *adaro here*, Pwai. In stories, snake *figona* may also take the form of a man or woman and change suddenly into a banded snake, as in the story of the Two Orphans.

9. *Men changed into animals.* The dugong is a case of this happening. A woman once went out to get sea water, and putting the cup on her head she bent down to wash her hands. Her *mwari'i*, husband's brother, came down to the shore and poked her in the thigh with his comb. She was so ashamed that she dived down and became a dugong (*haihu*), and from her all dugong derive their origin.

Another well-known case is that of Kareimanua, a native of Santa Anna, who changed into a shark before the eyes of his brother.[1]

In the story of Sinatau that hero threw himself over a cliff, but did not reach the bottom, as he changed into a hawk.

10. *Guardian animals.* Groups of people, all those of the same clan belonging to one village or several neighbouring villages, have a guardian animal. Thus there is a group at Bia which has a rat as its guardian animal. The rat comes into the house and asks, with a squeak, for its share of the meal, and is given the ends of taro. It comes into the house when one of the group is ill, and its *mena* helps the sick man to recover. It also tells if anyone of the group will fall sick or die. A man inherits the guardian animal from his mother in this part of Arosi.

Here also the Atawa of several villages (three) have two guardian snakes, a red one and a black one. These snakes live on a little mound called *hera rageragea*, and the Atawa dead are buried in circles round this mound. (The same is found in other parts, some Atawa burying

[1] See p. 74.

their dead round mounds inhabited by guardian snakes instead of round sacred trees.) Such a group must not use the words *ari* a rope, *simwa* a crook, because they resemble a snake ; they use other words, and also must call the nut-tree by another name. The guardian snake comes to them in sickness to watch over them. If it leaves the house the man will die ; the group sacrifices and prays to the snakes ; and they often follow about one of the group ; the man inherits the guardian animal from his mother, not, as was reported at Fagani, from his father. Other guardian animals of such a group are the hermit crab, the bat, and the prawn.

11. *The connexion of a Waipo group with animals.* The Waipo group of West Arosi has already been described. Perhaps it hardly differs from a group with a guardian animal. The Waipo mentioned was a group of Amaeo who practised the cult of a sacred shark, which might however appear as a mullet, a sardine, or a ray, or on land in the leaf of an *arite* tree ; this group could eat these fish, but not a white pig or bananas, and they had some other restrictions. They sacrificed to their shark, and the group inherited the cult through their mothers, it being called *Ta'i Waipo* " One Navel ".

12. *Animals which are taboo or sacred.* The wagtail could not be killed or injured by anyone, and was called *auhenua*, a man of the village, a native.

The *mwarore*, garfish, was both the weapon and the messenger of the great sea spirits called *adaro ni matawa.* A story is given in Chapter X of a human being who, being changed into a *mwarore*, the priest employs a *mwarore* to get back a soul captured by a sea spirit.

The *gaura* frigate bird is a sacred bird with at any rate the Araha, Mwara, and Amaeo clans. It is cut on the bodies of Araha ; cut out of tortoise shell and fixed to the face of the disk of the sun worn on their foreheads ; frequently carved in wood as a decoration for the platform on which a boy is made an araha, and that on which he ends his *marauhu* initiation ; and painted on canoes (but in this last case often as a *dead* frigate bird lying on its side).

The *Pirisu* has a special character. It is a bird of the vail class, and is said to have been once a sea-bird, but to have come ashore and eaten a dead pig, after which its smell was so unpleasant that it was rejected by the sea-birds, and has lived on shore ever since. When, at the *Ho'asia* annual sacrifice, the *Figona* is sent on to the next village, the message sent on the gong is not that the serpent is going on to them, but that " the Pirisu is on its way to you ".

Some birds and animals (not as a class, but particular ones) are much dreaded because to see them is to die, but probably this is because *adaro* are in them. Thus there is a deadly prawn, a dog (one day white, the next black), a brush turkey, a hermit crab, a very deadly crab, a bat, a cuscus, a *toowaa* bird—to see any of these is a death omen, *aranga mae*. Another deadly thing is a particular spider, *rawa* ; and a black snake, *mwae rodoma*, is a sign of the death of a relative.

Birds and flying creatures which come in from the sea exhausted are thought to have *adaro* in them ; especially *nonoasi*, which usually settles on *hera*. *Bina* and *hada* (hawks) are death omens.

Of fish, both the *ariu* and the *buma* have a special character, and are taboo to children. The various fish and animals taboo to a young chief have been mentioned elsewhere.

There are many animal stories in which animals talk and act like men and women. Some of these and other stories illustrating the facts given above will be found in the tales at the end of this book, and in Chapter XII.

To sum up :—(1) a close bond of brotherhood may be formed not only with animals, fishes, birds, and trees, but with inanimate objects, but the bond is much closer with living creatures, and may even be confirmed by the exchange or unity of the soul of the man and the animal ; (2) animals are adopted by people as their children, and have then a relationship to relatives of the person who adopts them; (3) stories tell of the similar adoption of children by animals, and these children are then considered as partaking of the nature of the animals, and groups with descent from an adopted child-animal are believed to have been formed frequently in the past ; (4) occasional marriages with animals are believed to have taken place, with offspring partaking of the nature of both parents ; (5) a fairly large number of animals are believed to have souls in all respects like human souls ; (6) many animals are regarded as ancestors ; (7) many animals are believed to be the incarnation of men's *adaro*, and there are recognized ways of bringing this about ; (8) *adaro* spirits sometimes take an animal form, *hi'ona* spirits regularly do so ; (9) men change into animals, and a whole class of animal, the dugong, has a human origin ; (10) many animals have a sacred character, are taboo as food on certain occasions, and have stories related of their doings, in which they behave like men, practise *ha'imarahuda*, send their souls into insects, and so on.

Lastly there are guardian animals ; a guardian of a single family ; a guardian of a group of people ; and last of all, a guardian of a whole

clan which is exogamous ; in this last case the animal is regarded as the ancestor of the group, has sacrifices and prayers offered to it, and cannot be killed or eaten, since it is not a particular animal but all of a class, the group of people and the group of animals being related to one another ; and this no doubt is totemism. The question suggests itself, has this totemism been developed in San Cristoval from the relationships to animals just cited, or has it been introduced in an already more or less developed form from without ?

The first hint we get of totemism in San Cristoval is connected with one moiety of the " dual " people, the Atawa ; for though the other moiety, the Amwea, has, it is often said, some vague connexion with snakes there is nothing definite ; but in the case of Atawa there is a prohibition against drinking the pale coco-nut called *niu mahu* ; and there are those Atawa groups which have a guardian snake (particular snakes, not all snakes) to which they pray and offer sacrifice ; but these are not exogamous groups. That Atawa has some connexion with snakes seems evident, not only from the existence of these groups, but from the fact that in Santa Anna the whole clan has an alternative name Mwaa, the Snake.

When we come to Araha and associated clans, the Mwara and Amaeo in Arosi, and the Shark, Ray and other clans in Bauro, and the Turtle and Shark clans in Santa Anna, we find in some cases normal totemism, in others the division into groups such as the *waipo* ; in all cases a general belief in such relationship with animals as that described above. The people with these ideas of souls in animals, adoption of animals, ghostly incarnations in animals, brought with them, it would seem, a set of ideas capable of development into normal totemism, ideas very like those of the Suqe founders of the Banks Islands, but which did not develop into totemism except in Santa Anna and Arosi.

The last comers were the bird-clan body of people in Arosi, who seem to have brought a developed totemism, and by their influence in Arosi to have developed the totemistic ideas of the Abarihu into normal totemism. This would account most naturally for the fact that the Abarihu, who lack normal totemism, but claim relationship with the shark, ray, and octopus rather than with birds, have (the same people) in Arosi a bird totemism. The clearest case is that of the Araha clan, who in Bauro hold all these characteristic beliefs about relationship with animals, but have no totems, yet in Arosi, where they are associated with the bird clan immigrants, they have emphasized their connexion with certain birds (the *hada*), and apparently adopted

a relation with others (the *kekewe*). Or again Mwara, who in Bauro have no bird totems, have in Arosi the *tehe* hawk and kingfisher; or the Uraua, who in Bauro have a connexion with the *uri* tree only, have in Arosi the *uri* tree and a bird (parrot) totem. Evidently their bird-totem neighbours in Arosi have developed a cult of birds among people who had formerly no true bird totemism, but who from their ideas about animals found it very easy to adopt it. The shark, ray, and other clans of Bauro appear as large groups (*ta'i waipo*) in Arosi, groups forming part of the larger bird clans.

We have, then, no evidence of totemism in the earliest people, the Amwea; scarcely any in the first body of immigrants, the Atawa; incipient totemism brought with them by the later immigrants the Abarihu; and fully developed totemism brought by the last body of people, the bird-clan cremating people. This shows totemism not as a primitive institution, but as an introduced and later state of society.

CHAPTER XX

A CULT OF TREES

HERE we may bring together the ideas held in Arosi about trees.

(1) *The burial tree.* This is not common in Arosi, and is characteristic of the people of the interior of Bauro, the dual people. Nevertheless, it is also found in Arosi, especially in the bush. The tree was the centre of the burial ground, and the people were buried facing it or sitting round it in leaf shelters, or among its roots and branches, or within its trunk, but originally apparently interred in a sitting position facing the tree. First the people were buried in a circle near the tree, then in another circle farther away, and so on. The trees were called in Orosi *omaa adaau adaro* " the villages of *adaro* ". Snakes which lived in these trees were sacred and called *figona* (as all sacred snakes were), and some seem to think that the dead were incarnate in these snakes, but the usual belief was that the tree, trunk and branches, was full of the dead. The trees are generally banyan or *topaa* (*tobaa*, W. Arosi), sometimes *awa* and *hata*, rarely coco-nuts.

(2) *The garden tree.* This is a tree called *maniato* or *mainato* planted at the four corners of the two upper corners of a garden, and called a *tarai*. When a man makes a new garden he charms his digging stick and digs the garden and then sets the stick, *wato*, by the *maniato* tree. A *maniato* post, stripped and bare, is also set up in the middle of a garden, or else a post of *awasi* ; this is thought to protect the garden. When the garden is planted, people fast from fish and pigs : they are *oheohe* (taboo) ; when the crop is gathered, yams and other roots are piled round the *maniato* post, and it is beaten, and the people say *'O'i oheohe, 'o'i ha'ariri* " You are taboo, you are fasting ", and then their own fast comes to an end. To set up a stock like this is to *Ha'adara* " to cause to pass by or miss ". Sacrifices to increase the crops were offered by this stock. It was common to take part of the flesh of a man killed in the village and burn it by the *maniato* stock. This is to *su'u manongi*, and the burnt human sacrifice is *diri huasi*.

People were also killed in the garden, and the blood poured out either by or over the *maniato*: but this was perhaps a Bauro rather than an Arosi custom; though it was once done in the Arosi bush behind Marou Bay, but only in ancient times, not in modern memory. Quite lately a man from a Bauro village on the Wairaha wrote to the Government Magistrate asking for protection as he was to be sacrificed, at the next planting season, to increase the crops; he said other members of his family had been sacrificed in previous years, and that one of this family was always chosen. There was no opportunity of getting more detailed information unfortunately. The *maniato* trees at the corners were called *hasi'ei ha'a mauri* "the life giving tree". If the garden were an old one, the man who planted it would not plant fresh *maniato* trees, but would merely lop off the branches (*ruhu*); this was called *tahitahi* "life", or "living". In some gardens *hi'imanu* (lilies) were planted at the corners in addition to the *maniato*, so as to make the garden fruitful, and these were called *tarai uhi*.

Besides these red-leaved shrubs were planted coleus, *'abu'abu* (bloody), dracaena and amaranthus. These were all said to represent blood. Without blood the garden could not be fruitful, and charms describe the taro having blood poured on it so as to be plentiful, though this is not now done. The bright red amaranthus (*nwata*) and the crimson coleus were especially planted. References to the amaranthus will be found in the garden charms recorded in an earlier chapter (see p. 103), where there is one charm to the Great Amaranthus and another to the Little Amaranthus (a characteristic of Arosi charms); and the Amaranthus is besought to guard the garden and strike with illness an intruder and increase the crop; but probably the amaranthus merely represents the blood of the victim. These bloody sacrifices in the gardens had died out, though they are remembered, and burnt sacrifices had taken their place. With Araha sacrificed animals are strangled, but the blood was part of the sacrifice. Human sacrifices seem to be connected only with crops. In the garden charms it will be seen that the ground is swept with a dracaena. In Bauro carved posts representing men are set up facing the paths and looked upon as guardians of the garden. Sacrifices were offered to them, I think.

(3) The *Ho'asia* Tree. This has been elsewhere described and the names of the trees given. At this tree sacrifices were offered at other times besides the annual *Ho'asia*. In the *Ho'asia* dracaena branches are used, and with these branches (and branches of panox) the people sweep the house and strike everything in it to drive out *adaro* (it will

be remembered they fish for *adaro* after a man's death with dracaena leaves for bait; and that to drive away an *adaro here* and make it take its proper animal form, you have only to strike it with a branch of dracaena or amaranthus). The *adaro here* is so evidently a foreign thing (not knowing local customs) and is so associated with Abarihu (change into animal forms) that it is worth noting that the tree *mena* seems inimical to it, magic which it is afraid of. The chief thing done to the sacred tree of the *Ho'asia* is to strip it of its fruit. When this has been done all the gardens may also be stripped of their crops. The *Ho'asia* tree, or the spot where it grows, is called a *pirupiru*, perhaps from the tree *pirupiru*.

4. Trees of the *hera* and *heo*. These seem to be often different from the other sacred trees, they are *'aitabi*, *tautaro* nut-trees, *maranuri* coco-nuts; usually handsome flowering trees. They were often thought to have a connexion with the familiar sharks: when one of these died the tree fell. When there was no *oha* in connexion with a *hera* offerings were hung on the branches of these trees. They are a regular feature of a *hera*. Besides these, the panax or Evordia and dracaena are also almost always planted: in fact a grove of dracaena marks a *hera*. At one *hera* was a very sacred *diri* (dracaena) called *diri ni taburara* "dracaena of the hot taboo", which when tied round the neck and hanging down the back was considered a great protection. (*Tabu*, for taboo, only seems to occur in this single phrase in the language, but the meaning is known.) Dracaenae were a chief feature of Polynesian *marae* as described by Ellis (they were called *ti*, the Polynesian showing as usual a broken down form of the Melanesian word), and these also had a grove of sacred trees. Crotons, *sasaro* or *tataro*, and *arite* (Catappa), are also common on *hera*.

5. The *'Airasi*. The custom of bringing in this tree with solemnity and fasting and dancing before it, must be compared with the New Guinea *Walaga*, and the Banks Island *Kolekole* of the Malay Apple. The tree is dressed in proper order from foot to crown with the ornaments of an Araha, and the dance (with figures of frigate bird and shark) is clearly an Araha dance. The tree is clearly sacred, and is slowly burnt bit by bit, no chip being wasted. It is addressed as a woman, the dance before it being called "The Dance for Madam Yonder"; and the old feminine prefix is used, otherwise only used in the Bush in one part of Arosi. The Banks Island *kolekole* of the Malay Apple does not seem to be a Suqe ceremony, but to be older.

6. Sacred groves or thickets. These are not very numerous, but have great sanctity because it is believed they are full of *adaro*, though no dead are buried there. They are called "villages of the dead", like the burial trees, and it is believed that if a man goes through them his soul will be left behind there. Generally such a place is a thicket of a bamboo called *'au bungu* (which is always sacred) and one large tree, usually a *maranuri* (or *mananuri* or *nuri*), a large tree with white flowers, or sometimes a *buru*.

Near Hawaa on the south coast is a famous grove which has a large *maranuri*; and a large thicket of *'aubringu* which has lately been cut down by a planter, while the natives waited awe-struck to see what would happen. In this grove Hatuibwari was believed to appear, changing from a man to a serpent, and causing sores and illness to any who profaned the spot. Sacrifices of pigs and pudding were offered here. At other *maranuri* groves on the north coast, very sacred places, people passing put offerings of money.

7. Harmful trees. These are not numerous. The chief are *rau'eda* (if a man goes near it his legs will waste away); *harage*, a sacred tree which has *mena* to kill dogs; *marabarihu* and *bare'o* (breadfruit), which have a bad influence on a garden, and the former of which especially will cause poor crops if it is allowed to remain in or near a garden.

8. The *Arite* (Catappa terminalis) is planted on many *hera*; and the fruit appears as a lozenge tattoo mark on the forehead of chiefs in Ulawa. It is tattooed in Bauro, but whether only with chiefs I do not know.

9. Many coco-nuts are sacred trees, full of *adaro*. Two varieties, *niu mahu*, associated with Atawa, and *niu bara*, planted on *ariari* walls, have a specially sacred character; and sometimes coco-nut milk is said to be the blood of the first female ancestor of mankind.

CHAPTER XXI

STONE WORK

IT will be convenient to bring together stone work of different sorts, even though some have been already mentioned, and to include here sacred stones and changes into stone, but without implying at all that these ideas with regard to stone or particular stones are all to be referred to any one people, either Araha or any other.[1] With stone must be included shell ornaments, especially clam shell, regarded by Melanesians as " stone ".

1. *Ariari*, stone platforms, very regularly constructed, with openings through them of different sizes, built along the seafront of villages, and sometimes in front of *tawa'o* (sacred house), in which case sacrifices are often offered on them. The entrances along the sea-front were all taboo to women, except one of them. The *niu mahu* was planted on these platforms, and also the *'aihuri*, the former a coco-nut with pale yellow nuts, and the latter a tree with yellow green leaves used in cooking and often planted at landing places, where its yellow foliage makes a conspicuous mark. Sometimes houses were built on the *ariari*, or it formed the end of houses built against it. Two stone platforms where canoes land from bonito fishing are called *'abu i waiau*. Men going fishing stand between these and each touch a betel nut. On return they bale their canoes in the space between the *ariari*, sacrifice, and eat on the platform.

2. *Du'a*, rough stone walls built for various purposes. One at Wango marked the boundary between the Wango and Fagani people, who were traditional enemies, and the fighting between them took place usually at the *du'a*. Boundaries between villages were usually marked by *du'a*, though sometimes by prominent rocks like *hau si'esi'e* near Tawaatana. *Du'a* are also stone fish dykes to enclose *buma* (a fish),

[1] See pp. 218 seq. for descriptions of stone tombs.

and no woman could cross over these. Other *du'a* are stone walls running out into the sea some little way. These are sacred sometimes, as at Rimahui, to the sacred sharks; money (shell) was offered on them, and when a canoe approached one all talking must cease. No one could cross over a *du'a*.

At Onehature on the south coast, there is a famous *du'a* running out into the sea, connected with the *figona* (spirit) Wamarea, who is said to be the *koa*, or fellow, of Hatuibwari, the Winged Serpent. On this dogs were sacrificed, and it was very sacred, no one daring to approach it. Travellers passed by in silence, and could neither chew betel nut nor drink water for the rest of the day. Nothing in the vicinity could be taken away, and if a branch of a tree close by were plucked it immediately withered. The walls of the *tawao* (sacred house) were of stone, and called *du'a*, but the stone walls of an *oha* (canoe house) are *bani ariari*. Gardens are also enclosed with stone fences in Arosi, and these are called *du'a* also. The stones placed on edge round the *damu sigo* or *damu tege*, a little enclosure for throwing betel skins, are also called *du'a*. The upright stones forming the base of the thatch walls of the inner chamber of the *tawao* (sacred house) are not called *du'a*, but *bo raherahe*, and the upright stones enclosing the oblong round the central posts of an *oha* (canoe house), a place for sacrifices, are called *uhi matoo* and not *du'a*.

3. *Kakaru*. These are wells lined with stones similar to those in Santa Cruz, which form such a striking feature of Santa Cruz villages: but in Arosi they are no longer prominent, as they are no longer used and have been allowed to fill up. The deepest of them is about 15 ft. deep: usually they are 10 feet or so. The bottom is lined with stones, looking much like a native stone oven, and the sides are lined with stones some 4 feet or 5 feet from the bottom, probably to the level the water rose to. Many of the *tawao* had their private *kakaru*, besides those common to all the villagers.

4. *Sacred Stones* (*Hau maea*). The number of sacred stones is very large, and it will not be possible to describe them all. The best plan will be to describe fairly fully one of them and give short notes on some of the others. For this purpose a very good one will be the large stone of red chert now set into the stone steps of the Heuru church.

The name of this stone is Wabina or Waibina, named after the hawk *Bina*. It is a large bright red stone about 2 feet square, and used to stand in a *hera* at Heuru on the *heo* or raised mound of earth

and stones on which burial of Araha and others took place. Its last priest was an Araha named Bora, who as priest of this stone had two official titles, *Binauhi* and *Hanarete*. The first of these titles is no doubt derived from the name of the stone, and the second from the natural right his priesthood gave him to take the lead in preparations for war, *hana* (meaning to shoot with a bow and arrows).

Wabina stood on the *heo* and was surrounded by carved stone figures, although the stone itself was not carved in any way. On its right was a finely carved figure of a shark, a flint; and on its left a carved flint bonito. These two figures were taken, when the people became Christian, by the Rev. R. B. Comins. Completing the circle round Wabina were the stone figures of birds, some in white coral rock, and others in diorite. There were at any rate six of these stone birds, and probably at one time a good many more. The birds were the *Gaura*, frigate hawk, the sacred bird of the Araha clan, the *Bina*, and the *Ma'ahe* seagull, sacrificed to in war. After the *hera* was dismantled these were used to hang cooking pots on, and none now remain.

Close by was a sacred coco-nut called *niu oraora*. *Oraora* means in Ulawa to be possessed by a ghost, and the Arosi word does not differ greatly in meaning, but the ghost is an evil one who gives foul thoughts, so that such a man becomes *misumisu'a*, foul and filthy like a dog. This tree was possessed by Wabina, and consequently was magical. The midribs were taken and used to pierce a man with, and he then became foul. The nuts were not eaten, and used to lie in a heap. Now they are thrown away, but never eaten. People from other villages used to steal the nuts, but without the proper charms they were useless.

Wabina itself had magic powers, the chief being that it could give power to people to eat to repletion without any unpleasant consequences. People going to a feast used to come and touch it with their spears or with a pearl shell knife for slicing yams, and then, according to tradition, they went and ate fabulous amounts of food at the feasts.

In front of Wabina was a large stone upon which burnt sacrifices of pig and puddings were offered to the stone, especially before war. Binauhi offered these sacrifices and said the appropriate spells and charms, and Wabina, or the *adaro* in Wabina, then went with the people to the fighting. If it was a marauding expedition he said: *Wabina gere hanoria i heingahu* "Please Wabina go to the murder"; if it was a regular war, conducted at the formal fighting place (*Bwaonga*),

he said: *Wabina gere hanoria i heioi.* Binauhi took a branch of dracaena and struck Wabina, and then gave some of the leaves to the fighting men, eating his own share. The fighting men did not eat theirs, but wrapped them in leaves, only the edges, called *Karinga diri,* and then waved the bundle three times over Wabina and tied the leaves round their necks so that they hung down over their backs. These bunches were called dracaena shields, *dirinitako,* and had great power. Binauhi then took a dracaena leaf and his bow and arrows, and two spears, only two, not many like the fighting men—these were his official panoply, he must not carry a club, or anything else—and they all went to the sacred casuarina. Here Binauhi tore the leaf into shreds, as many as there were fighting men, and distributed them. When the expedition returned, the leaves were brought to Wabina and burnt. They also brought *ria* (ginger) leaves, touched Wabina with them and ate them—especially Binauhi—so as to be hot in fight.

Binauhi himself prepared to lead the expedition by taking an arrow, touching Wabina with it, and then sticking it into the ground close by Wabina till they were ready to start. If an arrow or spear of Binauhi's struck a man, even if it merely glanced off and inflicted a flesh wound, the man would die; but if Binauhi did not desire to kill him, he would shout *Boomangori* (pig destroyed), and the man, by sacrificing a pig, would recover. He was then called *Boomangori.*

Binauhi was always accompanied by a bird, *kekewe,* a wagtail. The story goes that the *hada,* the sacred hawk of Araha, had performed *ha'imarahuda* with the *kekewe,* as the wagtail had told the hawk he was too large to live on the ground, and so they exchanged places. At first the hawk was very awkward in the air, but after some lessons from the wagtail, he learnt to fly. The *kekewe* then is the *marahu* of the hawk, and the associate of the Araha (without knowing the numerous transactions of this sort that have taken place between birds and fishes it is often impossible to understand native customs). The *kekewe* goes with Binauhi perched on his shoulders. If he flies back and forth across the path they must turn back; if he flies to right or left that is where the enemy are. Binauhi consulted the bird before starting as to whether they should go; the *kekewe* sings and Binauhi asks, "Shall we go?" or "Is the enemy coming?" and the continued singing of the *kekewe* means yes. "Shall I be hit?", "Will so-and-so be hit?" and the *kekewe* stops singing, which means no.

In the same way the Mwara clan have two birds, the *tehe,* a hawk, and the *waraanagi,* a kingfisher.

In this story it is worthy of notice that the proper arms of an Araha are the bow and arrow and the spear, but not the club.[1]

Hau'ora'ora (Shining Stone). This is a stone lately in a stream near Su'uri, but formerly on a *heo* like Wabina. Over the stone, which is of dazzling splendour, there is usually a rainbow (the sign of *adaro*). It is a white stone about 1 foot square. If it so wills, no one can lift it, but it may be light as a feather. Many people tried to lift it, but none could till a friend of mine dived and lifted it and carried it into the bush. It has, however, another property, that of becoming invisible at will, which it then exerted ; and it has not been seen since. There is another *hau maea* called *Hau'ora'ora* in a stream near Onetere, and I am told if one goes there by night the stone glows in the water more splendid than the moon at the full.

At Mateku there is a sacred stone resting on a cycad, which has been cut through so as to form a flat surface. This is inhabited by a great many *adaro* whose *mena* is so great that the cycad can neither sprout nor rot.

At Taritari is a large diorite stone three feet high called *Hau wanuwanu* " Whistling stone ". I could not see any hole where the wind might whistle in it, but it whistles whenever one of the clan is to die. It has not whistled, however, for a good many years.

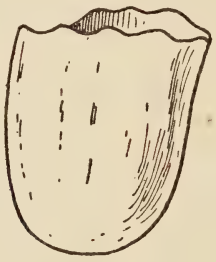
Hau'iha'iha are sacred rocks which are entrances to the land of the dead, which the bush people, but not the coast people, believed to be underground. Below *hau'iha'iha*, of which there are many, the road forked, one branch for Atawa and one for Amwea. At the *hau'iha'iha* by Tawa Supwe, near Heuru, there was a road for the Araha dead to cross to Ugi, and thence to Orumarau and Maraba. On this there is a giant clam fixed fast to the stone, which itself is believed to consist of clam shell (there is only one word, *hau*, for stone and shell ; they are classed together in the Melanesian mind).

Umaroa's Stone. Umaroa was the leader of the canoe which came to San Cristoval in the traditional flood, and the chief of the Mwara clan. Umaroa had a sacred stone which was carried by the party from place to place, and finally when he died he was buried underneath it.

Hauaroha'i (Turtle Stone). This is a stone at Bwao, on the south coast, inhabited by many *adaro*, and many sacrifices are offered to it on the *heo* where it lies. It does not always lie on the same part of the *heo* as it has the power to move about freely wherever it likes.

[1] Most of this account of Wabina was given to me by the son of the last Binauhi.

Hau nagi. These are very common on *hera*, and are round stones of flint, sometimes almost perfect balls. They are much used for magic (*haisi'ohi*) ; by taking a chip, and striking the footsteps of an enemy (to *saki*) as one strikes a match on a box. On the south coast the *hau nagi* of the bush *hera* often went down to the seashore flying through the air. After a time they go back to their own *hera*. The *hau nagi* at Bore had two resting-places, at Donga and at Pareina, some distance away, and used to go about a good deal, always of its own accord, not carried. Most of these stones were a good deal chipped (*baria*) for magic, but this could only be done by their own priest. Two men meeting this Bore *hau nagi* on the shore, and not recognizing it, chipped it and died. Its last owner has buried it lest it should fall into Christian hands. The sacrifices offered to the *hau nagi* are chiefly bonito, *ariu* (a fish) and pigs (*dada*).



Hau ni ba'ewa (Shark Stones). These have been mentioned under *hai si'ohi*. They are often round stones, but often also of other shapes ; and there is always one at a *pirupiru*. The stone has some intimate association with the sacred familiar shark, for at the moment when the shark seizes its victim, perhaps fifty miles away, the stone jumps for joy and sometimes falls off the *heo*. It has also the power of moving about on top of the *heo*. In the bush near 'Ado'ai'o'o I saw a *hau ni ba'ewa*, which had been captured in a fighting expedition from a village near Waimarai. It was a long white stone about 2 feet 6 inches in length and closely resembling a shark in shape. It could still be used to work magic by pointing it towards an enemy's village, which would cause him to fall when nutting. This was always done in the shore *birubiru* too, when the shark was sent the stone was pointed in the same direction ; and if the enemy was a bushman it was pointed towards his village.

Different from the *hau nagi* and *hau ni ba'ewa* are round diorite stones which are found on the *heo*, which have the power to grow

in size, being as small as a cricket ball at first, and after a time becoming the size of a football.

Hau dai'iri. This is a stone cup of natural formation, not of *dai'iri* (quartzite) but of coral, now in my possession, but formerly on a low *heo* near Onetere. It is also called *Hau ni mwaa*, the stone of the snake, as are other sacred stones on *heo*; and had great *mena.* Anyone treading on the *heo* where it was, would be afflicted with sores. It was also used for *heisi'ohi*, *mangita* being put in the cup with a pair of small tongs, and the owner of the *mangita* would have sores.

Hau ni bwa'era, a round flint nodule. If a man who had committed an offence with a woman went by, sickness *bwa'era* (swelling of testicles) resulted. If a clean living man went by nothing happened.

5. *Sacrificial Stones.* These were common on *heo.* That in front of Wabina has been mentioned. Near Onetere is *hau dai'iri*, a lump of flint on a large rock (in a bush village). A blazing fire was made on the flint, and then a pig's head was put on the fire with the words, " pig for your eating," then pudding, and also coco-nut cream was poured on the fire with the same words. Many *adaro* ghosts lived in *hau dai'iri.*

In canoe houses (*oha*) were stones for burnt offerings. One near Asimainioha was a natural coral cup about a foot high, in which offerings were burnt. It stood in the centre of the *oha.*

On the top of the sacred mountain Hoto, where the serpent spirit Hatuibwari came down and created the first pair out of red clay, there is, I am told, a stone altar at Aofa, a great round heap of large blocks of diorite. Here people offered sacrifices of pudding and fish teeth.

Hau kirapua is a large flat slab on a pile of stones on which burnt sacrifices were offered of fish, dogs', bats' teeth, and puddings. The *heo* on the centre of which this pile stands was also edged with stones.

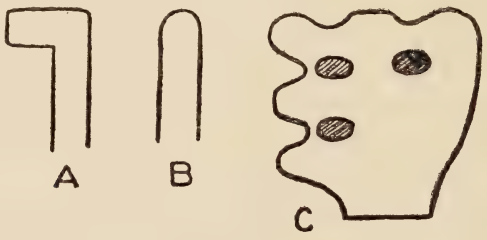
This leads to the question of the use of piles of stones, *wadu i hau*, which are found in some places. The one mentioned above was for sacrifices, and probably all were so, but their use is not now known. Near Marunaiburu, a bush village, is a large pile of stones (or was—the people are gradually carrying the stones away now they have become Christian), and they say it was formed gradually, as all people coming to a feast brought stones with them and placed them on this pile. Another pile of stones at Bonimainiu is about 10 feet square and 3 feet high, and is connected with cannibalism. A man taken in war was brought to this pile and killed there, and his blood poured out on the

stones, after which the body was taken to the oven to be cooked. Between the mainposts of *oha* are stones on to which the blood of bonito are allowed to drip. These stones are called *Abenga'i.*

Divination stones. Small sacred stones on *hera* were used for divination. The stone is held in the right hand, and the question asked. If the stone grew heavy, causing the hand to sink, the answer was "No", if the stone grew light the answer was "Yes".

Uriuri ni mae. These were stones which the priest buried in a path near the village. If they rose up so as to be exposed it was a sign of war (the people would often go and visit them). If they then pointed in the direction of the enemy's village it meant the village would be destroyed.

Other Stones. A stone was placed in the middle of a garden when it was prepared. Later, the owner would come and privately put it somewhere else in the garden. This was *hau ni uhi.*



On some *heo* are stone pillars 2 or 3 feet high. The use of these is quite unknown. I have seen one over 10 feet high and about 6 inches in diameter, evidently worked. At the Tawaatana *heo* are some curious stones. There are two stone pillars about 3 feet high. The one on the left, A, was stuck up where a man was buried on the *heo.* It was set up for the last comer. The one in the centre, B, was similarly used for women. C, on the right, is a flat slab to the east of the dolmen, upright in the ground, 30 inches high and 22 inches across. Two holes are perforated. The third circle is a deep hollow.

As these menhirs may suggest phallic stones, I may mention here a curious custom. There is a very strangely shaped spear, with a flat blade like a paddle, about 6 feet in length, called *Rehareha.* It is the

property of the head of the clan in the village, and is set up in the middle of the village when there is a thunderstorm. The meaning of

rehareha is not known. *Ha'areha* is to marry a man's mother, and the people believe *rehareha* has some meaning connected with marriage.

Kaihau. There are two large blocks (*kaihau*) of stone called *hau ni bwero* at an old bush village called Gahu. They are about 4 feet high and 3 feet broad, and were used as seats for chiefs. I have not seen them, but Risibara, who told me of them (he is an old man, chief of Erihoro), told me he well remembers as a boy seeing a famous chief named Nagi sitting on these stones. At Tawasuru is another *hau ni bwero* (resting-stone). Tradition says that this stone used to be a chief's resting-stone, but in anger two bush chiefs made war and declared they would " tread down " the people of the village, which they did, and the chief's stone was made a *hau buubuu*, stepping stone, to the canoe house (*oha*). Now it stands in the village, and the custom is at a feast to give no food to anyone who sits on this stone. At the entrance to every *oha* was a large flat stone called *hau buubuu.*

At 'Abuna was a resting-stone of another sort. Whoever sat on it was smitten with sickness.

There is near Su'uri a very curious large rock *Dahadaha* by name, which was called *hau ni tori*, also perhaps, stone for resting. On this priests of the Mwara clan offered sacrifice (uncooked food was offered by the Mwara clan, unlike the others). By the side of the large rock was a stone for the priest to sit on while the sacrifice was consumed.

There is in the bush near Bia, on the other coast, another high rock on which grows a banyan. A platform for the dead is in the banyan branches, and when they are placed there, the people sit on a smaller stone beside the large rock.

The *Hau ho'asia* are described in dealing with the *Ho'asia.* These are generally small blocks of diorite or other volcanic rock.

Hau huari'i is a famous stone of diorite. He went on a journey from Waimarai in Arosi to Malaita, and on the way he met another stone *Hau Waasiha.* Hau huari'i asked Hau Waasiha to step aside, but he refused, and said, " Come on past me." The path was so narrow that they could hardly pass, and had to *waasiha*, draw in their waists, with the result that one of them, or perhaps both, have contracted at the middle permanently. Huari'i went to Malaita and remained there. On another occasion Huari'i was at Maro'u Bay fishing up Guadalcanar—having already fished up Malaita and many other islands —when he heard the cracking of *'Au i Rohu*, the Rohu cliff, and running to help left his footprints deeply imbedded on the rock at the east end of the bay, where they may still be seen, human footprints. The

cracking of the Rohu cliff *'Au i Rohu,* " The Bamboo of Rohu," and its tilting over, is a very famous event. The dancing Kakamora ran to help. So did the people making feasts in various places, whose puddings have all been turned into flat slabs of stone called *Gori* (Pudding). So did the people who were making stone drums at Onetere, leaving their drums unfinished. So did *A'omarau* fishing up islands on the south coast (another version of Huari'i, but a man). So did the people catching bonito at Hau ura, and all their bonito were turned into stone. So did the people planting gardens at Hada, and their garden was turned into stone. These all tried in vain to hold up the rock, which is the pillar on which San Cristoval rests, using great ropes, and disaster would have resulted if the Kakamora, the little fairies, had not arrived and bound it up with stinging nettles and mere wisps and slender creepers, but stronger than all their great ropes. What happened to all these people is not recorded. They never returned to their various works, which were all turned into stone, and remain so to the present day.

Men and Animals become Stone

There are many other stone animals, men or other objects. Close to Heuru is a rock called Ogaia, which is a man and his money bag turned into stone, a man who committed suicide by jumping from this cliff. Not far from this is Waikiro's pig, another rock. On both north and south coasts are sets of drums, at Onetere and Onehatare, but these are only natural rocks, though the people think they are real stone drums of ancient times. One at Onetere is very like a native drum (strictly speaking, gong) with a deep slit ; they say the people were working at it when *'Au i Rohu* cracked. At Rihua is a stone sow and litter (natural rocks) ; close by are a rat, a comb, a pig, a creeper and a man catching a turtle. Two swordfish are two rocks near Cape Na'oni, and near by is a ray fish. In many places there are creepers turned into stone (generally stalactites). Near Haununu is a fishing rod. By Mwata are all the men drowned in the flood from which only Umaroa and his people were saved : these are rows of stone pillars. These could be multiplied indefinitely. There are great numbers of such rocks bearing a fanciful resemblance, often very fanciful indeed, to the animals or objects they represent.

A rather different connexion with stone is that where a man or spirit lives in a stone, or goes into one. Some spirits lived in stones, and many ghosts. All alike are called *adaro,* and it is sometimes doubtful

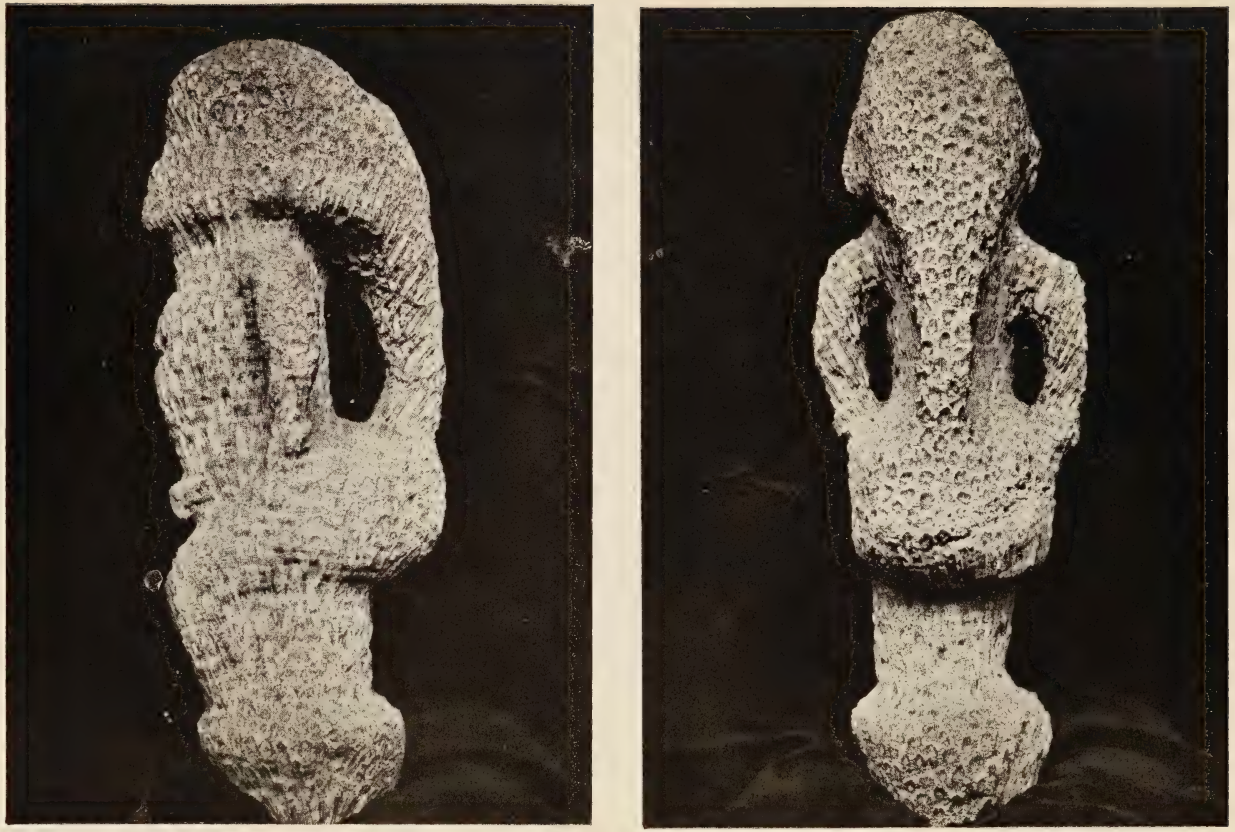


Fig. 10. STONE STATUE WITH PIGTAIL, ULAWA

[face p. 200

if they are spirits or ghosts, but generally they are ghosts. Such stones have already been mentioned on *heo*. Before describing others I may mention the tale of Sautabaia'o'o, a very famous hero of old time, who is said to have introduced many things. He came to a village where coco-nuts were *tongo* (taboo) for eating, and ate some; to escape the vengeance of the people he went into a small stone with his bag and canoe. Later, with a magic word, he came out again. He struck a *maro* tree (a mulberry) with his knife, and it became a dress reaching to his feet.

I should also mention the stone which was the herald of the coming of Hatuibwari, the Winged Serpent, a stone which spoke to the woman who found it.

Stone Figures

Besides these stones, which are supposed to be men and animals turned into stone, there are stone statues and a good many stone carvings. I have already mentioned the stone birds, shark, and bonito surrounding Wabina. In the canoe house (*oha*) for the initiation rites of boys were in former times many such stone carved figures. Such figures are not now to be found. But on the *heo* were also stone statues, which may still be seen. The finest known to me was that at Marunga, in the centre of Arosi in the bush. This statue is not quite life-size: it is of white rock, the figure sitting, but leaning forward as if peering into the distance, with arms stiff and straight on each side as though supporting the weight thrown forward. The head, ears, eyes, mouth, were well carved, and also a beard of fair size. It was set up on the *heo*, was called *Hau i noni*, and was said to be inhabited by many *adaro* (ghosts). Unfortunately it has now been defaced; a party of iconoclastic native Christians from Hada went up to Marunga and chopped off the beard, nose, ears, and so on, of this fine statue. However, a neighbouring and similar stone figure may still be seen.

Other stone statues reported still to exist are one near Hada called *Kamaitau*, a woman in child-bearing, well carved as to hair, ears, etc.; and one near Wango called *Hau haraai*, which is said to be life size, and, like the Marunga statue, peering forward, holding back to the rock with outstretched arms; but whether this is separate from the rock, as at Marunga, or carved in a cliff face, did not seem to be quite clear.

But perhaps the most interesting are the little stone statues, some only about a foot high, which used to be put on the *heo*, of Araha at any rate, and into which one of the two souls possessed by a man was

believed to pass. These figures were the same shape as those on spears, in a crouching attitude,[1] with a long pigtail-like projection coming down from the head to the back, and with what looks like a kind of hat. They are also carved in wood in the posts of houses. These stone figures were carved in white coral rock, and these are the only ones I have seen; but they were more usually carved out of diorite, I am told. One such was possessed by Taki of Wango, but was thrown away some years ago. I have managed to get some of these statues, one of which has a goatee beard. In some *heo*, bird statues take their place, and in this case the male and female stones of the human statue *heo* are called the "bird's children"; they are set up by it, and are used for magic. The use of bird statues is accompanied by the peculiar belief that all the *adaro* of those buried on these *heo* dwelt in the single bird stone, and the male and female stones set up by it and called its "children" are not distinguished from one another, although they differ in shape (see p. 283).

The statues were painted in Arosi with tumeric after the men died whose *adaro* would pass into them. In Ulawa I was told that the statues were painted sometimes red with red earth, and sometimes white.

Stone Carvings

Besides stone figures of men, birds, and fish, there are in some places stone carvings. The most interesting perhaps are those at the water hole at Madoa in Ulawa. These are:—

(1) A stone pig 25 feet long from snout to tail, very much worn, and bearing now a very faint resemblance to a pig, but yet cut out of the rock.

(2) Footprints of a large size cut in the rock.

(3) A turtle and a crocodile cut in the rock, both much worn and defaced, because since the people became Christians the children have largely chipped away the carvings.

(4) On the rocky face over the pool are many carvings which can be seen if the moss which now covers them is removed.

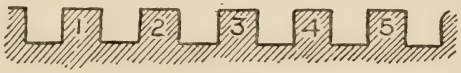
[1] The name for this is *herebasi* "holding the bow"; the originators evidently fought with bows, and the attitude is one adopted in such fighting. See Fig. 11 (facing page 292).

Fig. 11. WEAPONS WITH CARVED HUMAN FIGURES

[face p. 292

The first is a frigate hawk (p. 292), the next is a man, then another man wearing what looks like a hat, and a crescent-moon ornament (*dahi*) ; the last good and clear ; and there are other figures.

(5) The solid rock has been cut into deep trenches to let the water into the pool.



On the rock face, between the trenches marked with numbers, are figures of men one in each portion, very worn and indistinct, but clearly to be seen. One is wearing what looks something like a hat, with perpendicular bars.

All these carvings are said to have been done by the Masi (like the stone drums at Onetere). They were called away to go and chase imaginary bonito which were only ripples (the Masi always were doing foolish things), and they never came back and finished their carvings, the stone pig being only cut out in the rough.

The Masi I have already described elsewhere. I will only add here that their descendants, or reputed descendants, at the present day are the skilled craftsmen, canoe makers, decorators, and so on. I do not know where Dr. Ivens heard the tradition that they were small, I have never heard it, and I am inclined to think Dr. Ivens has confused them with the Ulawa *mwasiu*, a people like the Arosi *kakamora*, and like them, dwarfs ; especially as Dr. Ivens omits the word *mwasiu* (also used for a variety of *akalo*) from his dictionary. One of the Masi well-known at the present day is Martin Houalaha, of Saa, who helped to translate the Bible. But the point I wish to make is that the Masi, always credited with stupidity and the theme for jest, are *also* the authors or workmen who executed the stone carvings, and are the best artisans.

At Onetere there are some rock carvings, a frigate bird, footprints of a large size carved in the rock, and deep perpendicular parallel lines. At Waimapu again are very large human footprints. Near 'Ubana are what are called human footprints in the rock, those of *Uraura-siahoa* (Passing Stranger) who was fishing up Malaita as he stood there, but they are not carved, and are only imaginary footprints. These are all I know of in Arosi, but probably there are others.

At Oro Marau (Three Sisters) at Marauraro there is interesting stone work. There is no drinking water on this island. Two wells have been sunk and edged with stone; one has a good stone wall, and

on flat slabs of stone are good figures of frigate hawks, bonito footprints, canoes, *usu* (Araha cut tattoo), and such designs as one sees on canoes. This is the home of the old heroes of stories—Rapuanate, Takibaina, and many more, and also the first place to which the dead Araha go.

Stones are sometimes placed on graves, and many graves have an edging of small upright stones round them. The graves of Araha are sometimes lined with stones.

Oha (canoe houses) usually, but not always, have three walls of stone, while the low wall in front is of wood. The walls of a *tawao* (sacred house), of stone, have already been referred to. A few houses at the west end of the island are said to have stone walls like an *oha*, but I have not seen them, and they are certainly very rare.

Things made of stone are *oba*, little tall bowls for crushing betel nut for sacrifices. Some must be large, for on the south coast there is said to be a stone *oba* at Hauraha which stood on the *heo* by the sacrificial stone, and in which burnt sacrifices of dogs were offered.

There are also beautiful little diorite *sauka'i*, coco-nut scrapers, with serrated edges, for scraping coco-nuts for sacrifices. I have seen one. There are some fine stone adzes, and many stone hooks made of volcanic rock. The hooks used are the *hinou mora* of flint, for catching *ariu* ; the *hinou waro* of dark volcanic rocks for catching *buma* ; the *ta'i*, a tortoise-shell hook for bonito ; the *toheo* of *waro* (pearl shell) for *buma* ; the *hinou una*, smaller than *hinou mora* but like it, for *ragui* ; the *rauhi*, a large hook made of *rauhi* shell for bonito, with a fish carved at the bend ; the *tegu*, a gorge made of clam shell shaped like a *baroho*, a deep sea fish, for bonito.

Shell ornaments should be included in any account of stone work, especially as the pearl shell and clam seem to be connected with Araha. The giant clam has an important place in Arosi culture. Before the introduction of pigs (said to have been the work of the Mwara clan), feasts were made of dogs and giant clams, *'ima*, and the latter feasts are the only ones mentioned in the Rapuanate stories.

The *'ima* is used in the following ornaments :—

1. The *hato 'ima* large shell armlets, used in fighting at close quarters, should only be worn by Araha.

2. The *Ararede*, also an ornament of Araha, is a round disk with rays going out from the centre, and at the end of the rays perforations round the circumference ; some are only pits (not pierced through), but in these perforations dogs' and bats' teeth are hung. A loop of red

shell money hangs from one *ararede* to the other, there being one disk in the perforated lobe of each ear. As this is " sun blood ", and the *ararede* is a white shell disk with rays, and ear piercing is certainly a semi-sacred practice, it appears probable that the *ararede* represents the sun. It is only worn at feasts, and is at other times replaced by wooden disks *o'uo'u* of *'ahuto*, the tree from which fire is got by rubbing. The name in Ulawa is *eho*, which may be more than an accidental resemblance to Florida *aho*, the sun. The *o'uo'u* are whitened with lime.

3. *Hitara'i*, a round disk worn at feasts, one at each temple level with the eyes.

4. *Matesina* " the disk of the sun ", a large white disk worn in front in the centre of the forehead. Tortoise-shell carved figures of the *gaura* (hawk) and *ma'ahe* (seagull) are fixed in front of the *matesina*.

These four *'ima* ornaments are strictly Araha. The *isuisu* nose stick is also made of *'ima*.

CHAPTER XXII

THE CHIEFS

A GOOD deal has been said about the chiefs already, in the preceding chapters. The statement that only members of a particular clan (the Araha clan) can be chiefs needs some modification for San Cristoval, though true, I think, of Ulawa. A boy of any clan may become a chief if he is made an Araha by the series of feasts described elsewhere; anyone born into the chief's clan is already a potential chief, and certainly has very great prestige, and his father will as a matter of course *ha'a araha* the boy; but a man of any other clan may do this to his son if he is only rich enough. The son or brother of a chief will naturally succeed him.

A boy who has been raised to the position of araha is not counted, however, as belonging to the Araha clan; only he is on a level with the members of that clan, and can wear the ornaments of an Araha. We may now bring together the things which were the marks of an Araha, as distinguished from other men.

(1) *Tattoo.* It was only by accident I heard of the tattoo of Araha, for it is not seen nowadays. When I was getting a description of the dance of the dead (*Mwakomwako*) the account described the marking of the red-daubed body with streaks of lime to represent the tattoo of Araha. This was a very full tattoo on the face, chest, back, arms, and legs. The various tattoo were called *rabu angiangi, rabu barauru, rabu suriwewe, rabu arai bwau, maragaura,* and *maro'uro'u.*

1. Rabu Angiangi 2. Maragaura 3. Rabu Barauru 4. Maro'uro'u

The Maragaura represents a frigate bird, the Barauru the evening western sky, and the Maro'uro'u a serpent.

(2) *Ornaments.* These ornaments are distinctive of an Araha. Others wear them now, but all agree they should not properly do so, though there is some doubt whether the Mwara and Amaeo clans have not this right.

(*a*) *Cowries,* either worn singly round the knee, or in a circlet round the forehead, or attached to the scarlet grass crown. The cowries used to be obtained on the south coast, chiefly by using a particular tree to which the shells adhered. They were then rubbed and whitened.

(*b*) *The shell disks, red or white,* strung together, and called the sun blood and the full moon. These hung from the ears in a loop, meeting across the breast, and were worn in the circlet round the leg.

(*c*) *The pearl shell,* cut to represent the crescent moon. This is called *dahi* and *warowaro* (a word also for moon in Bauro, cf. *waro* the pearl shell), and a pearl shell disk called *hura* (the moon).

(*d*) The clam shell disk called *matesina* " the face of the sun " ; smaller clam shell disks on temples ; clam shell disks with rays in the ears ; clam shell nose sticks.

(*e*) A white disk of the pith of the *'ahuto* fire producing tree, worn in ears.

(*f*) Scarlet plaited armlets, and scarlet grass streamers, fixed to comb worn in the hair, and a crown of scarlet grass.

(*g*) Armlets of shell disks ; necklets of teeth finely plaited together (*piru*) ; this last Mwara and Amaeo also.

(3) Cut figures on face and shoulder ; the *bwari,* the frigate hawk, and the sun. I am doubtful as to what the *bwari* is ; it may be the " summit " and have nothing to do with the tarantula (*bwari*) or its web ; Hatuibwari seems to mean " Lord of the Summit " ; and the lozenge on the baby's head may well have this meaning (it is also called *bwari*). This lozenge is the Catappa fruit in Ulawa.

(4) The right to prefix *hau* to the name. Seldom done now, but much more frequent in the names of old time heroes. Sometimes *sau* instead of *hau.*

(5) The right to taboo (*tongo*). This was specially exercised in tabooing certain waters or streams so that no fishing could take place in them till the taboo was removed. Fruit trees would also be tabooed before a feast. This right also comes out much more clearly in old stories than in present custom ; many wars are said to have begun from the breaking of a chief's taboo by some other chief.

(6) Method of descent, patrilineal instead of matrilineal, and the right to intermarry in the clan. In fact Araha usually married Araha. These two things mark the chiefs off very sharply from the rest.

(7) Burial; always extended, and always exposed; not interred; usually the skull preserved. Burial on the *heo* and embalming are traditionally connected with the Araha.

(8) *Maraufu* of boys with a long series of feasts and a long period of seclusion.

(9) Connexion with animals. This the Araha seem to share in Arosi with the Mwara and Amaeo clans. The familiar sharks, and the connexion with the bonito are theirs. The connexion with the hawk (the *hada*, the *gaura* (frigate bird), and the *bina*) is characteristic of Araha and Mwara. While the Araha have the *hada* hawk as their totem, the Mwara have the *tehe* hawk. The familiar sharks often have the prefix *sau* to their names.

(10) The piercing of the ears and nose.

(11) Connexion with stones; the idea that their double (*adaro*) inhabits statues or stones after death; a special stone seat for chiefs; stone edgings to their graves (which are not filled up); stone mounds for burial, of a pyramidal shape; carved stone figures such as those connected with Wabina. Men turning into stone (Mwara clan).

(12) Legends of great Serpent gods, especially a *Winged* Serpent, with female breasts, and a man's face. The *Ho'asia* rites show these to be connected with the chiefs. Stories of creation, a flood (Mwara clan).

(13) Origin from a brother and sister who married; either the children of one mother (as at Santa Anna) or of two sisters (as at Haununu); always the children of the gods.

(14) A connexion between the chiefs and the sun.

(15) Red seems to be the sacred colour of the Araha. Their canoes are marked by long red grass streamers. Their combs are similarly decorated, and the *'Airasi* feast shows the Araha crowned with scarlet *'ere'ere* and *hunguhungu*. In the *Mwakomwako* dance of the dead a necklet of red ferns was worn. Armlets of grasses dyed red (characteristic of Arosi and Marau, as red and yellow is of Malaita, and yellow of Bauro) are worn. On the front of the *oha* are painted bands of red, white, and black, as also on the platform for the initiation of boys and for making them Araha. The firstfruits of yams put in the *oha* are painted with red and white lozenges. The lozenge tattooed represents sometimes at least the fruit of *arite*, a tree very prominent,

standing out as a russet red mass when its leaves turn. The bodies of Araha are painted with tumeric after death. The red shell money is also connected with Araha.

(16) Bowls in which Araha are buried, but still more the ancient weapons of Araha, are believed to be very powerful rain-makers; and there would appear to be some rain-making power believed to be inherent in an Araha.

I think no one can avoid the conclusion that these are the immigrant people whom Mr. Perry describes as coming into Indonesia and Professor Elliot Smith traces in their long wanderings, the people of the archaic civilization. I call them Abarihu (see pp. 356 seq.), the name given to them in San Cristoval. The chiefs share with the Mwara and Amaeo clans some of their characteristic cultural features, and these two clans would appear to be similar peoples. For the present the point brought out is that the San Cristoval chiefs are an immigrant people who, from their superior culture, became the chiefs, and that they are the same people described by Mr. Perry as coming into Indonesia.

The chief of an Arosi village was the war leader; he or a man of Mwara or Amaeo was usually the priest. He imposed fines on all offenders and received money at a man's death. He arranged all feasts, and for the payment for all services done to the community. He extended hospitality to all strangers. No one could settle in the village without his permission (a Christian school could not be begun without it). He arranged for war expeditions, and for the conditions when peace was made. He was the leader of the village on every occasion of a party going to a feast, of a party going to a *Rihumae*, of a party going in a canoe, in which he had his own seat in the bow. He settled what combined work should be done by the community; he took up the quarrels and grievances of individual members; he was the father of the community and the people were his children—this was his ideal position, but it depended on his character whether it was his actual position; he would not moreover do anything against the general opinion of the village, expressed quite freely by all its members.

A village had two chiefs, called the Great and Little *Irango* (canoe rollers).

In old charms a chief is called Araha, but his little son, who is to be chief one day, is called *ari'i* (*raha* big, *ri'i* small).

May not this word *ari'i* (Bauro form *ariki*) for a young chief have some connexion with the Polynesian words for chief *ariki*, *aliki*?

Melanesian languages often show the true meanings of words when those meanings have been distorted in Polynesian languages. Mendana speaks of the " taurique " of Bugotu, the use apparently of a Polynesian word which has puzzled commentators, but which possibly was not Polynesian. In Maori *ariki* means " a firstborn in a family of note, hence chief ".[1] The Tahitian custom, described by Ellis, of the father abdicating in favour of his son, who is then the chief while the father in only viceregent, may explain the use of *ari'i* rather than Araha in Polynesia. Was this abdication a trace of earlier ideas of a divine king who had to be slain ? There does not seem to be such an idea in the case of the Araha.

[1] Tregear, *Maori Polynesian Dictionary*.

CHAPTER XXIII

PROPERTY

PROPERTY in land, trees, and money, goes at death to the *mau* (sister's children), not to the sons and daughters of the dead man. During a man's lifetime his children may use his possessions, but only during his lifetime, and if they have spent his money, at his death they will owe it as a debt to his *mau*, and must replace it. When money is lent, interest is not required, and though debts must always be repaid, a long time is allowed in which to pay them. A case came under my notice where a loan of some taro, not a large amount, was repaid after more than forty years ; the man who paid it told me that the obligation had been handed down to him from his *mau*. When I became the *marahu* of Takibaina, taking his name, I also took over in accordance with native custom his debts. One of these was a debt of 400 fish teeth, and 4 fathoms of shell money, which had been owing (lent to Boo, the father of my *marahu*) for twenty-five years. Finding it difficult to pay this, I was told to ask for help from clansmen, and the debt was immediately met by a number of men each giving a small portion of the whole, which they would later recover when convenient to the debtor. Pigs were owing to me in various villages as far as Santa Anna. Debts were never forgotten, but debtors are very rarely pressed for payment, and no one doubts that a debt will finally be paid. The chief property is in land and trees ; often a small piece of land is held jointly by a number of clansmen and the consent of all is necessary before any one of them may sell his portion. The ownership of the land depends on the fact that an ancestor of the clan was the first to clear it and make a garden there, and the names of these first cultivators are carefully remembered, and their clans, and are known to all, though of course disputes arise. An Araha has larger possessions than others, but he is not consulted in land transactions, unless they refer to land owned by the clan ; it is essentially a clan matter, which has not been sufficiently realized by the Government.

As property is handed on to the *mau* it remains always in the same clan ; but with the consent of the clan it may be sold to a member of another clan for his use during his lifetime ; but at the death of the member of the clan who sold it, it may be bought back by the clan to which it formerly belonged, and the owner cannot refuse to sell.

I have found that each name is clan property, and the giving of a name (only with the consent of the clan owning it) gives a right to the property in land of the last owner of the name, the property returning to the clan which owns the name when the holder of the name dies. For example, I am by adoption an Araha, but my name Takibaina belongs to the Mwara clan. The Araha clan is said to own my body, which is technically " property " (a technical word) of the clan ; but my name being " property " of the Mwara clan, I own during my lifetime land belonging to that clan, land owned by the last owner of the name (in this case father's father) but held by the Mwara clan after his death, till they allowed the name to be given to his son's son.

If a boy plants a tree on land belonging to his father, that tree will remain his property when the land passes to his cousin, but his cousin has the right to purchase it if he wishes to do so. If he does not do so, and cuts down the tree, he is in the wrong, and such actions are the cause of frequent disputes.

If a boy is adopted he will only receive a very small portion of the possessions of his new mother's brother, and in this case the father usually gets his own clan to agree to let him give his adopted son some of his property, but they may, if they like, refuse to allow him to do so.

If there are several nephews and nieces, two nephews who are brothers will perhaps get one portion ; two or three others closely related to one another, another portion, and so on.

Small things, personal property, such as a cooking pot, are usually given to sons, but need not be ; but if they have asked for such things while their father was alive they may keep them.

Possessions will not be taken from an orphan or adopted child by the *mau* of his father ; such a child is treated as belonging to his father's clan, though not called a member of it, so that in this case land does pass to another clan.

In the case of Araha, just as descent is patrilineal, so is inheritance of property, the Araha hands on his property in land and trees to his sons and daughters. These two kinds of property are distinguished by special terms, *bwenna* for property in land, and *ruruunga* for property in trees. Only certain trees are *ruruunga*, chief of all the coco-nut, also

the two varieties of canarium (*ngari* and *'ado'a*), bread fruit (*bare'o*), the Malay apple, the mango (*aai*), the Catappa terminalis (*'arite*), *'aitabi*, a fig with edible leaves (*kamau, 'amau*), the *'airari*, and the *ama*. The last is not a fruit-bearing tree, but is a tree used specially for bird traps, and is private property. One of these trees growing in uncleared forest land is not *ruruunga* unless a man has come and cleared round it, when he is said to *ha'ahora* the tree, and it becomes *ruruunga*. Sometimes trees at a distance that a man takes a fancy to on a journey become his (but not *ruruunga*) ; thus there is an *uri* (Spondias dulcis) at Tawaatana which is the property of Dora, a chief in South Malaita ; he is said to be *ha'imarahuda* of the tree. The same ownership exists in rocks and pools ; and again the man is said to be *ha'imarahuda* of the rock or pool. Even two stars *mangai ngau* and *usuusutobaa* were lately owned in this way by two Bia men Hoa and 'Iidi, but such things were not property. The stone or pool or tree or star, was still said to be *ana* so-and-so after his death, it was his *marahu*, but if he had a human *marahu* the latter would inherit the star, etc.

A man when he died might give his property to a friend if he had no heir, or from personal affection, but the clan might buy it back. He could not give away his portion of land (*dora i ano*) nor his coco-nut grove (*mwai niu*). He could give one or two of his *ngari* nuts, not all the nut trees.

Spells and charms (*haiaru, hai'uasi, didi'usi ha'aura mou*) were property, and passed to the *mau*. A shark rock passed to the man's son if he were initiated to become a shark man. *Heo* and *hera*, generally the property of the clan, were sometimes held by several clans in common. A canoe was generally owned by several men ; one of these dying did not hand on his share to the *mau*, but the last to die did so. A conch trumpet was very sacred as property, and was given either to the son or nephew, and called *maburu* or *mwakura*, the name for a relic, hair, eyebrow, and so forth. An *oha* was clan property if a feast was given when it was built ; at each re-thatching, a further feast had then to be given. Ornaments were buried with the owner, but usually recovered later ; they were often given to the son, but only if the consent of the nephew had been asked and obtained before the owner's death. Chiefs had the right to taboo (*tongo*) parts of the sea or streams for fishing. To break a taboo was to *beria*, i.e. to steal it : after the chief's death the taboo remained in force, and was the property of his son.

Sons shared equally. The firstborn did not get a larger share.

Daughters got an equal share with sons in theory, but in practice it depended on the son as to how much his sister got. Neither the husband nor the wife received at marriage any property in *bwenaa* or *ruruunga*, unless the wife went to a village some distance away, when she would receive some *ruruunga*, but never any *bwenaa*. Another form of property was a fish pool *uhu*, in which fish could be killed by stirring up the water with poles, and this passed to the *mau*. Pigs and dogs went to the *mau*, but pigs for the death feast might be taken by the children, only however for killing at these feasts ; they could not be kept by them. There was a distinction in the case of dogs and pigs between natural increase and those bought ; the latter went to the nephew, but the former might go to the son if the nephew consented before the owner's death. In fact, the nephew was the heir, but in practice a son would receive some things by an arrangement made with the nephew before the owner's death.

CHAPTER XXIV

FIGHTING

THERE were two kinds of fighting in Arosi, the *heremae*, a traditional state of war between two villages or two districts, each containing a number of villages; and the *surumae* or *uraimae*, a sudden temporary war between two places. Many villages or districts lived always in a normal state of war with others; there was a regular fighting ground called *bwaonga*, where they met from time to time after regular and formal notice had been given. Examples of this state of war are Wango and Fagani, the two border villages of Arosi and Bauro; Bia and Onehatare, on the south coast of Arosi; Toroiwai, i.e. all the bush district at the back of Marou Bay, perhaps fifty villages formerly, and Heuru; Tawatana, and the bush villages behind it. In Bauro Atawa and Amwea have traditions of such a normal state of war, and these two clans had regular places for fighting one another. Though war was the normal state between such places, and its cause often forgotten, the people were not always fighting, as is generally imagined. When they fought it was arranged by some on each side standing near the *bwaonga* on their respective sides of it, and calling out to one another, arranging the day when they would meet. Or a regular herald was sent, usually the chief's son, to the enemy, and his person was sacred so that he was never in any danger. He carried often cabbage and a piece of firewood (the obvious meaning being that his village proposed to kill and cook the enemy) and taunting speeches, but he was never molested. The *surumae*, on the other hand, was a sudden, secret expedition, without any herald or declaration beforehand; but even in this case certain rules were observed. For example, no one found climbing a nut-tree or fruit-tree must be attacked nor anyone fishing for bonito in a canoe, the reason being that such fighting with people " in the air " or " on the sea " was too cruel, and fighting

should be restricted to people "on the ground"; but people in gardens might be killed. Everyone was killed and eaten if possible; but children, if small, were usually spared and taken to the conqueror's village and adopted. The chief of the enemy (*wa'a ni mae*) must never be killed, his person was sacrosanct, but everyone else, women and children and old people, were killed without mercy. Hereditary enemies were called *maeronga buru*.

The causes of wars were numerous, but the most common was a woman. Other causes were the death of some man who had been killed, it was believed, by a spell from someone in another village; or from unfair distribution of property among relatives after a man's death; or from land quarrels, a man of another place making a garden on land which did not belong to him; or from a woman stepping over a tree leaning over, so that subsequently a man walking under the tree became degraded; or from breaking a chief's taboo (*beri tongo*); or from the desire of a chief to possess some famous weapon or ornament. The traditions and tales handed down contain many examples of all of these. There was a great war between Western Arosi and the Three Sisters, owing to Rapuanate of the latter place breaking a taboo (fishing in tabooed waters) on the coast near Rumahui. Another example will be found in the stories of Rapuanate, where he deliberately broke a chief's taboo so as to cause war. And another example in the same stories shows how a war began through Rapuanate's brother desiring a famous and beautiful shell belt. Most of these wars would be prepared for for some time after being formally announced; and fighting expeditions in ancient times are said to have contained two or three thousand fighting men led by their chiefs and allied for the time being. These old traditions give the impression of fighting on a large scale and of a chivalrous nature, though full of cruelty. Besides regular wars there was much private fighting, and in this a great deal of treachery. If a chief wanted a man killed he would show a length of money and his people would secretly add to it. Then if a man took the matter up he would come and *hita ha'a*, bite the length of money in two, and then set about killing the enemy. When this was done the chief would make a *bwea* for him, i.e. build a platform and call a gathering, and presents of money would be put on the platform for the murderer. The men who did this sort of thing were *mwaeroo*, professional fighters, and murderers, and some in course of time killed hundreds of people for payment. They often did it by treachery, going to the village of the man to be killed, and living with him in friendship,

perhaps for months, till an opportunity presented itself. Another of their jobs was killing a man for the *Rihumae* (death ceremonies) of a chief, when a victim, *ramoa*, was always needed. These *mwaeroo* were both bold and astute and were both feared and hated secretly. There were special strong spells to overcome them. They built a special kind of house difficult to attack, and, as long as there was plenty of money offered, they were ready to take the risks. A dead man was also needed to initiate boys who had not yet tasted human flesh. A chief would offer money for this *ha'angaunoni* " teaching to eat men ", and when the man was killed the chief made a *bwea*. He gave money to the slayer, and money and human flesh to his young men.

Very cruel things were done in war. If the enemy had got the better of it, and killed more men than the other side, the latter would kidnap a child from the enemy's village and cut the child up alive bit by bit, cutting off his ears, nose, limbs, and so on, with taunts and jeers. This should be remembered when people praise the " good old fighting days " ; as also the treachery of the lurking *mwaeroo* and the fear of him in which all men went.

After the messenger had been sent preparations were made. They fasted for ten days while they prepared their weapons. They smeared charmed lime under the armpit and behind the ear. Spears and the " eyes " of clubs were whitened with lime. Faces were marked with streaks of lime, and lime was puffed on to the face and rubbed in. The chief *wa'a ni mae* (the general) made the plans, but did not himself often lead the fighting, for which leaders called *na'otara ni mae* were chosen, young *ramo*, or warriors, who would lead in the actual fighting ; each of these, again, had under him several lieutenants, *abebwau*, who directed small parties. The leaders would make speeches exhorting their men to fight bravely : " *Ro mwane ! a'i matanga i maamou'i* " " Men, keep your eyes open (looking in every direction) ! " Some account has already been given of the sacred stone Wabina at Heuru and of the proceedings there of the Binauhi, the *wa'a ni mae* of that place, and of the charms used for protection of the warriors. In the stories of Rapuanate it is told how he tied a bit of dracaena round his toe to make his enemies sleep, and this is a common practice, dracaena leaves being knotted and the tighter the knot the faster the enemy will sleep. Divination was practised in many ways, so that the fighting party might avail themselves of the wisdom of *adaro*. Men became possessed and gave advice, the canoe rocked of its own accord, or spears in a bundle untouched by human hands were violently

agitated. *Mwarabaina* was a method no doubt introduced from Malaita, as its name shows. Two men stood in front of the rest and held a rod, which became violently agitated as the two men held it. In *Ha'ageugeu* two men held a miniature canoe which was violently agitated by the *adaro*. Another method was to put a pearl shell on the forehead, and if it remained without human agency the answer of the *adaro* to a question was in the affirmative. This is called *'irara'ini waro* and *'irara* is the word for divination. Other methods of *'irara* are mentioned elsewhere in this paper.

Omens were not very much regarded in war ; but those that were so were chiefly bird omens, the fantail, *kekewe*, representing the hawk ; and the red parrot, the *kira*, which warned of an enemy's near approach, as does a yellow-breasted bird, the *waitoto*, always a bird of ill-omen. Sacrifices were offered to the hawk and the seagull (*ma'ahe*), which was specially the bird of warriors, before engaging in an expedition.

When the expedition set out two spies, *gagari*, usually went out some time before. There was an advance guard as well as a rear-guard of young *ramo* (warriors), and the rearguard was strengthened as they returned. Fighting at night was not allowed, by the rules of war, but the expedition frequently went at night so as to surround a village or get round the flank of an enemy, although the actual fighting could not begin till daylight. Sometimes a father and son, or uncle and nephew, fought together, attached by a string fastened to the *mangita* (plume) of each. Such a pair was called an *i'ahiku*, and was much respected. If they could put an *i'ahiku* to flight the enemy were very boastful : " See, the *i'ahiku* is running away ! " The warriors wore *ama'ama* in their hair, especially a lycopodium called by this name, but also other leaves—always a sign of war—and also the *mangita*, a native comb stuck into the hair and decorated with scarlet grass streamers. Men got nicknames in fighting. For example a man at Wango in the regular fights between that place and Fagani, used to avoid the spears (*rura* in Fagani, but *'oo* in Wango) so cleverly that his own people called him *Marawa-i-rura*, shortened now to *Wairura*, and thus introducing a Fagani word into a Wango name. When a man was killed the slayer smeared the blood on his spear, axe, or club, and on his face ; he also took a bit of the skin and put it in a hollow bamboo and stuck it up in his house, where he would point it out to friends and *wawao* (boast). Some drank the blood of the slain. As they killed a man they would shout: *Marihu ! Mamaa ! Ohereho ! Ohauaheini !* and a leader

would encourage his men by shouting *Uramiu* (your spears) *Ta ana mada! Namua!* and a man would drive his spear home, shouting: "Go west!" (*Ári dora suu i sina*). If a speared enemy escaped, a man would shout: *Musigu na waia wou si!* "He's taking away my fingernail!" or if only slightly wounding a man: "*Wawao ni mae*" "The boasting of the enemy". They chanted little songs:—

Angosuru na dada
Dada ni toki warata
Angosuru na diri
Diri ni toki bwahuri
Angosuru na hahe
Hahe ni toki tatate

. . . the croton
Croton for hanging up the skull
. . . the dracaena
Dracaena for hanging up the viscera
. . . the Hahe (Evordia)
Hahe for hanging up the jawbone.

And when they went out or came back the drums beat out martial tunes; there was much drumming on the return:—

Tai'idi ga'i guru,
Ia Aru hera buru,
A daru mara kunu,
Abwa'i gere rumu.

Skulls and other trophies were hung up while the women prepared a feast for the men.

The weapons used were bow and arrows, spears, clubs, axes, crossbows, slings, blow-pipes, but the last three not very much, though these were frequently used in hunting, especially for birds. Bows and arrows had almost ceased to be used when Englishmen came to San Cristoval, though they were the most prominent weapons in the times of the Spaniards. What caused them to die out is not known. I have never seen an Arosi *ba'e ni mae*, war bow,[1] and very seldom an Arosi *omo*, fighting arrow, though bows and arrows for birds are common enough. The arrow was very long and light, like the Malaita one, of

[1] This was the smallest; larger bows were *basi* and *rau*.

bamboo, often tipped with bone. The cross-bow, *ba'e rikiriki*, was made thus as described by a native : " We take part of a spear and fix a bow across it, cutting a groove, then we cut a groove for the bow-string, in the spear handle, and draw it back, put an arrow and let fly the string." I first saw a cross-bow in Makira Harbour ; they have not been used in recent times for fighting, passing away with the bow and arrow, but are still used for birds. They have three notches. The sling, *arorabu*, was not very much used.

The blowpipe was thus made : " We cut off a length of bamboo and we get a reed flower (*taga i ade*) and tie it to a sharpened stick, we put this in the hollow bamboo and blow and the arrow flies."

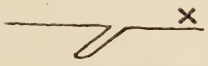
Clubs and spears were the chief weapons, with long-handled axes ; but the latter seem to have been introduced, as was, it is said, the shield, *tako*, from Guadalcanar. The San Cristoval method is to use the club as a shield. The spears are about 10 to 12 ft. long, usually barbed, though some are not (*popohau*). They are often decorated with yellow grasses plaited round the head and with shell (*rauhi*) decoration ; and there are various carvings, the most usual being two squatting figures, back to back, and the serpent. The clubs are the Bwauata, Kira, Taroire, Darima, Rutu, Rutu magera, Rauponiu, and Supi. There is some confusion in the use of the names, the Darima and Rauponiu are the same, and the Kira seems to be a bush name for the Rutu. One form of this last is not used in fighting, but to kill a captured enemy, the flat blade of the *rutu magera* being held against his temple while the sharp corner of the heavy *rutu hari* or *kira* is brought down with great force, death being instantaneous. These clubs are made in some cases from the flat curving buttress roots of trees. This probably accounts for their shape, which has puzzled so many collectors, and has been explained as the degenerate form of a paddle, etc., while the W-mark on them, which the people say is a serpent, and call *mwimwidi*, has been called the jaw of a fish, etc. The club is held in the left hand, well in advance of the body and turned this way and that to glance off spears, something like a cricketer making a leg glance with his bat, the spear being held in the right hand.

The defences of a fortified village were strong. In the first place there was the *'erihoro*, or war-ditch, sometimes on each side of the village, as in the plan of villages near Haununu (p. 328), but more often right across the middle of the village, so that if the enemy attacked one part the people could withdraw to the other, pulling away the tree-trunk which spanned the ditch. The largest *'erihoro* were between

Fig. 12. BOYS OF HEURU

[face p. 310

30 and 40 feet deep, 100 yards long, and too broad for the most active man to leap over. They are now fallen in and gradually filling up, but these great ditches may be seen everywhere and must have entailed a great amount of labour. Many stories are told of their use in fighting. Iahoroiasi, a famous chief who died lately, was paid to go round to a village on the south coast near Marau Waawaa and help attack a bush village. He went, and at dawn rushed across the *'erihoro* after the fleeing enemy, but before anyone else could follow the bridge was pulled away and he was left alone. However, with all the enemy attacking him he fought his way right along and round the ditch, a very famous exploit. On another occasion this same chief (whom I knew well and baptized) ambushed a war party who came over from Malaita, killing forty of them. Ambushes were common, and once at Marou Bay 400 bushmen were killed by the people of 'Ubuna and Tawaatana in an ambush to which they had been led by treachery.

The village was defended also by a *bara* or bamboo fence, and one form of the *bara*, the *bara bomai*, was so arranged that the enemy could climb in, but then the long and elastic bamboos would spring back (they leant towards the village), so that once in he could never get out again. Besides the *bara* there were pitfalls. One such village in which I spent the night was completely surrounded with pitfalls (they were expecting the enemy nightly), with sharp stakes at the bottom and covered over with soil and leaves so as not to be noticeable, one path, known only to the people of the place, being left free. The pits are about 9 feet deep, and the sharp stakes (*suasua*) are very unpleasant to fall upon.  This is a *giru*. A *giru maoi* is only knee deep, with stakes, and designed to twist (*maoi*) an ankle or injure the feet ; another kind is the *girua robo*, dug under the path slanting away from the village. They are the chief defences of an Arosi village.

When peace is made a friend from a village which is at peace with both the combatants is usually sent, one who has relations by marriage in each, if possible a *mau*, and there is a preliminary payment of money called *daroro mae* " walking across the war ", after which fighting ceases. Then a day and place are fixed, and the two parties meet, fully decorated and armed for war, and engage in sham fighting. This sometimes ends in actual fighting, and is a very interesting sight, as like the real thing as may be, the people being excited. The Rev. J. Atkin saw peace made between Wango and Fagani in 1869 after a long traditional enmity, and thus describes it : " We waited where we over-

took Taki till the main body from Wango came up. They charged past in fine style, looking very well in their holiday dress, each with his left hand full of spears and one brandished in the right. It looked much more like a fighting party than a peace party ; but it is the custom to make peace with the whole army, to convince the enemy that it is only for his accommodation that they are making peace, and not because they are afraid to fight him. It was about 12 o'clock when we reached the rendezvous. There was a fine charge of all except about a dozen of the more sedate of the party ; they rattled their spears, and ran, and shouted, and jumped ; even crossing the stream which was the neutral ground. We halted by the stream for some time ; at last some Fagani people came to their side, there was a charge again almost up to them, but they took it coolly. At about 1 o'clock the whole body of the Fagani men came up, and two or three from Wango went across to them. I was tired of waiting, and asked Taki if I should go : ' Yes, and tell them to bring the money,' he said. While I was wading through the stream the Fagani men gather up and advanced ; I turned back with them. They rushed brandishing their spears to within ten or twelve paces of the Wango party, who had joined into a compact body, and so seated themselves as soon as they saw the movement. Kara, a Fagani man, made his speech, first running forwards and backwards, shaking his spear all the time, and at the end he took out four strings of Makira money and gave it to Taki. Fagani went back across the stream, and Wango went through the same performance, Taki making the speech. He seemed a great orator, and went on until one standing by him said : ' That's enough,' when he laughed and gave over. He gave four strings of money, two shorter than the others, and the shortest was returned to him, I don't know why, but in this way the peace was signed." The peace has been kept ever since.

This was a short affair ; generally it takes a long while and much oratory to decide everything. Payment (*wateuru*) has to be made for many things on each side, of which the following are most important :—

(1) Men killed in the fighting.
(2) Men wounded.
(3) Pigs killed.
(4) Water fouled by passing urine in it.
(5) Insults uttered openly about particular men.

Sometimes an oath is taken : "*Ha'a agu au wiri aroabe*" "I string my money on the line"—the breaking meaning war ; and

usually a stone is set up, an ordinary volcanic rock oblong in shape, called *hau arata'i*, the stone of the covenant or oath. Finally there is the feast, when a triangular platform is made. At two adjacent corners and at the middle of the opposite side are planted *buru* tree-saplings, stripped except for the three top branches. From this platform money is given to all who have been injured in the fighting, and pigs are killed and a feast made. This feast of the *buru* sapling and the setting up of the stone of the oath make the peace (*nagu*) secure.

CHAPTER XXV

FEASTS

FEASTS form an important part of native life. The planting season is from October to the end of the year, and the gardens are ready by May or June. After that there are a few months when there is not much work to do, food is plentiful, feasts are given by one village after another, for entertainment at a feast means giving a return one sooner or later ; the young fellows go about from place to place, enjoying the round of pleasure. When they go to a feast they wear all their ornaments (the married men dress much more soberly), and so do the girls. In old days no doubt it was a time of considerable licence, and there was a regular official class of harlots called *rebi* (they were women not of Araha clan). It was also a time for the young men and girls to see one another, and much courtship took place. The feasting, singing, and dancing were no doubt very much enjoyed, and there was much good in the feasts. Nowadays one of the Missions working in Arosi has completely forbidden them ; while the other, the Melanesian Mission, allows them, shorn of their sacrifices to ghosts and licence ; but like all the old things they seem to be gradually dying out as the people get commercialized, and take a more and more sordid view of life, gradually losing their cheerfulness and hospitality in consequence, virtues so marked in the old days. Gradually and surely they are losing the colour and joy, of which, in spite of its cruelty, superstition, and fear, their old life contained not a little.

Every feast (*Rongo*) was a religious rite because every feast began with a sacrifice. The food at a feast consisted of pudding (*taumwa*) and pigs ; and when preparations for a feast began three or four weeks before it actually took place, a small portion of *taumwa* was cooked and wrapped in a dracaena leaf and taken to the stone altar in the *oha* as a sacrifice. On the day before the feast, when the pigs were killed, the *dada* was divided into two portions, one of which was taken to the same place as the pudding, while the other was taken to the *heo* (burial

mound), but not on to it, only to the foot of a sacred coco-nut which grew by the *heo*. But a pig was set apart for a feast for months or years and called *'ama'ama i mae*, and was sacred to *adaro*. Thus a portion of all the food eaten at every feast was sacrificed, and eating the feast always meant sharing in the sacrifices.

When a village decided to give a feast a special house (*oha*) was built, and about three or four weeks before the time the people began to prepare the food. But if people of neighbouring villages were helping they would begin later in those villages. *Taumwa* is generally made of *taro*, often of *bwaa matawa*, the very large swamp taro, but also of yams. First the people go and bring this in, some of the roots being half as large as a man's body. This taro (or yam) is then grated to a pulp on rough graters, boards with spikes. This is *ata bwaa*, and is very hard work. This pulp is collected in huge trough-like food bowls called *hohoto* or *moke*. The next step is to *sauka'i niu* (grate coco-nuts), the white coco-nut shavings being wrung out with water in coco-nut fibre (*rosi niu*), and the milk collected in bowls. This is then boiled by putting red-hot stones into the bowls, and a butter-like mass settles while the oil floats at the top. The liquid is poured off, and the solid butter-like mass mixed with the cooked pulp of taro and well stirred in, and then the oily liquid is added and stirred in also; and after this the whole mass of *taumwa* is put into great food bowls, all painted black and of various shapes, usually decorated with shell, and some of them of great size, even 5 feet by 3 or 4 feet. These bowls are valuable and often have a long history. There may be about forty bowls of pudding at a small feast. The oil swims on the top and sliced red fruit are often put on top as ornaments. The bowls are all ranged in the house built for the feast.

The day before the feast is called *mauru'ahu*, when all the people gather from different villages and sleep where the feast is to be given. In the evening *rongo gana*, the visitors gather together and sing the feast songs, which are a regular series of songs always sung, and the singing of which goes on all night. The singers gather together at one end of the *oha* in which the feast is spread, and a bag is hung up. Only two or three or four sing the songs (*gana*), the rest keep up a humming accompaniment (*ngurunguru*). Then, from time to time, an orator steps out, and standing in front of the singers gives a tremendous and startling yell, and begins his oration, walking generally very rapidly up and down some ten yards each way and shouting loudly at the turns. He usually speaks very rapidly and not very loudly, and as they use many obsolete words in these speeches they are very hard for a stranger

to follow. These orations are called *Ohonga'i*, and the orators often seem to be very excited, almost choking with excitement. When he has finished his oration he comes up to the singers and gives them a bunch of betel-nut, or a length of shell money, or dog's teeth (which he has been holding in his hand while speaking), and his present is put in the bag. The singers do not stop singing while he is speaking, but the songs are in low, plaintive tones and do not seem to interrupt. The people of the village make the speeches, and then the visiting Araha, and it goes on all night, orator after orator coming forward. The people of the place usually say polite things to the visitors about the feast being a poor one, but it is very different when the great Araha come forward. Severe reproofs are administered, alliances discussed, all sorts of matters talked of with great eloquence, and, more than this, ancient history is referred to, great fights described, old customs interpreted in the most interesting and eloquent way ; and these speeches are a means of teaching the young men the history of their race and customs. We should remember sometimes how much we are taking from them when we deprive them of such things as these gatherings, or the boys' two years' training in the *marauhu*.

Who that has been to a *Rongo*, perhaps on a beautiful tropical night with the moonlight bright on the village, can ever forget it ! The beautiful plaintive singing with its curious humming chorus, seeming to sum up all the mystery and beauty of a wonderful race of men, the stentorian tones of the orators, the quiet chatter of the crowd, the wind blowing gently in the coco-nut palms, and the miles of mountain slopes covered with virgin forest stretching out below you. To me this sweet singing has always seemed to sum up all the strangeness of an unknown race. Hour after hour goes by while the visitors sing to their guests, and those nights seem very short.

On the evening before the singing commences, while the guests arrive, the scene is very lively. As a party from some village comes, all armed, of course, they make a great demonstration as they carry in their great bowls of food (for neighbouring villages will help). The young men are all dressed in their ornaments and looking their best. They rush into the village, beating on the walls of the houses, shouting and yelling. Friends from all parts meet and talk over mutual affairs.

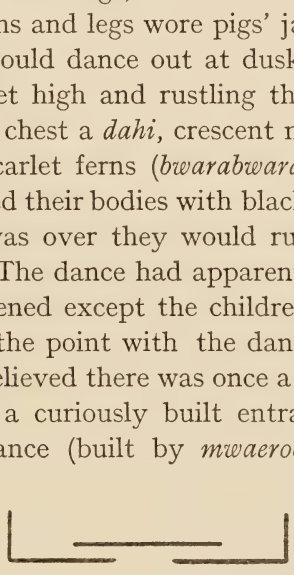
Next morning the dances take place before the feasting. There are few dances now, and those few are usually lately introduced ones from Ulawa and Malaita, and the old local dances are forgotten ; but a good native dance, though it is long and gets tedious after a time, is well

Fig. 13. MWAKOMWAKO DANCERS, HEURU

[face p. 316

worth seeing. After the dancing the feast is distributed by the chief, the people eat a little and carry home the rest, as they consider the pudding excellent eating for many days (it is very bitter to European taste). In old days people used to stay several nights. There was no doubt a good deal of licence, everyone was excited, and there was plenty of food; there was the regular class of women called *rebi* set apart as harlots. Nowadays, people only go for one night, and the feast is a harmless merrymaking.

There was one dance at these feasts which is so curious that it deserves some description. It is called, or the dancers are called, *Mwakomwako*. The last time it took place was about ten years ago, though I have seen one or two dress the part and give a faint idea of the old dance. The dancers wore masks, made of coco-nut fibre, which completely covered their head and shoulders. Below these they wore a dress of shredded banana leaves, and coco-nut leaves shredded, and not worn as in ordinary dances, but wrapped round their legs to their ankles. These dancers were supposed to be the dead. Some only wore masks and limed their bodies. The masks were painted black, had eye and nose holes, and were elaborately decorated and painted. They were usually like high conical hats, and sometimes had long straight hair hanging from them made of vegetable matter (sometimes of moss). They carried spears, bows, and arrows, but not clubs. They were never young boys, they were well-grown youths and men. They carried over their shoulders old worn out bags, and old decayed bowls, both full of leaves, and on their arms and legs wore pigs' jaws, cuscus' bones, and white leaves. They would dance out at dusk, with a high stepping motion, lifting their feet high and rustling the dried banana leaves. Below the mask on the chest a *dahi*, crescent moon, was painted with lime. A necklace of scarlet ferns (*bwarabwara*) was worn above the *dahi*. They often daubed their bodies with black mud from the swamp, and when the dance was over they would rush yelling to a stream and wash themselves. The dance had apparently become a mere jest, and nobody was frightened except the children, who really supposed they were ghosts; but the point with the dancers was to let nobody recognize them. It is believed there was once a special house belonging to these dancers with a curiously built entrance so as to hide the interior, such an entrance (built by *mwaeroo*) being called a *bane mwakomwako*.



Sometimes the *Mwakomwako* is performed still, but simply a few youths go to a swamp and plaster themselves with black mud, so as to be unrecognizable, and exchange ornaments with the same object, and then come out and rush about silently (as the old *mwakomwako* dancers did) at dusk among the people, who laugh at them.

In the *Mwakomwako*, however, we probably have in Arosi the faint echo, as it were, of the Florida *Matambala*, the Banks Islands *Tamate*, and the New Britain *Dukduk* societies.

At a feast when the young men dance the women often *giroha* in the stream. They stand in the water and take coco-nut cups in their right hands, and swish along the water, the left and right hands crossing making a slapping sound. This has a curious effect and can be heard a good way off.

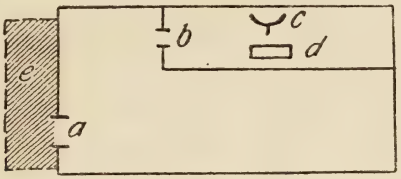
Rongo Rasirasi

The *Ho'asia*, the chief feast for the *Gare manimani*, and the feast that ends the boys' initiation, are all interesting and full of ceremonial, but none of them is so picturesque and strange as the *Rongo Rasirasi*.

In its chief features it resembles the New Guinea *Walaga* and the Banks Islands *Kolekole* of the Gaviga Tree, but it has distinct characteristics of its own. One of these feasts was lately held at Taraibia, almost the only remaining heathen village on the North Coast of Arosi, but it was shorn of much of its old gaiety and many ceremonies were omitted. Instead of the proper tree for the feast, a sapling was set at the foot of an orange-tree, and the latter was then hung with money and ornaments. Still the main features of the old feasts were reproduced, and will be now described, supplemented by other accounts so as to give as true a picture as possible of the old time Rongo. It is not likely one will ever be held again in Arosi.

The *'airasi* is a fairly large tree, growing in the forest, and is the chief object of this feast. The feast only takes place at long intervals, but when it does a very large gathering is held, parties coming from villages from some distance away. There is a long preparation, as special gardens are planted of taro, yams, and other food. When these gardens are ready about April or May, before the nuts are ripe, a party selects the *'airasi* for the ceremony. This is done three days before the actual feast, and by sacrifice and divination the party, which must be an even number, and may consist of from six to ten men, is then chosen. If an odd number went one of the party would die. Near the village is the *tawao*, a sacred house, in front of which the ceremony

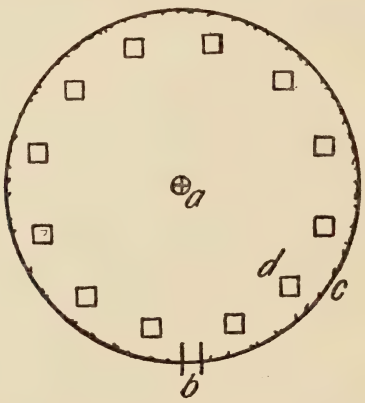
takes place. In an earlier chapter (see p. 115), the *tawao* was referred to, but only as a guest-house, with no relics in it. This may be the case usually now, but evidently was not always so. Probably in the case of the *Rongo Rasirasi* a special *tawao* was built, and it is said it must be built in a single day, all the material having been prepared beforehand. It would be built some time before the time of the feast.



The above is a plan of a *tawao*. *a* is the main door opening into the large outer room ; *b* is a very small door where a man must stoop low to enter, like the door of a Santa Cruz *ma-dai* ; *c* is the large sago-leaf cup such as is generally used for firstfruits, and called *rahoraho* ; *d* is the platform (*raherahe*), on which are skulls, and under which burnt sacrifices are offered.

The walls of the *tawao* are always of stone, and in front is a broad stone platform called *ariari*. The walls of the inner room, which is very sacred, are of sago-palm leaf, but these rest on a row of large upright stones. Stone building thus is characteristic of the *tawao*. In the *rahoraho* is a *mangita*, that is, a relic of a dead man, such as his hair, and it is this which is used when the party to cut down the *'airasi* is chosen. The owner of the *mangita* goes in with great reverence, and brings it out to the *ariari*. On this is a very large stone cup (it takes three men to lift one of these huge sacrifice cups, which are still to be seen), of dark volcanic rock. In this the fat of a pig is burnt. Two clubs are arranged crosswise over the stone cup, and on the upper V the *mangita* is placed, so that the smoke of the burnt sacrifice ascends to it. Then each one, holding a bowl of coco-nut cream under the clubs, touches it in turn, asking : " Am I to go and get the *'airasi* ? " and the *adaro* answers in the usual way by agitating the clubs, the *mangita*, and the hand holding the bowl of cream. In this way the party is selected, and also the man who is to cut down the tree. The day on which this is done, the third day before the feast, is called *dangi 'airasi*. The sacrifice is made very early in the morning, and then the party set off clearing a large track through the forest to the spot where the tree is (the latter has been chosen probably some months before). The path is made very broad, because in bringing in the tree, if a single leaf

fall it means a man's death, and if a branch breaks the totem clan of the giver of the feast is doomed. But, so far as I can learn, there are no careful precautions taken to preserve the chips, as in New Guinea at the *Walaga*, although it is now hard to learn details, as there is no *tawao* now standing in Arosi, and only the older men have seen the ceremony, which is best known in the bush villages, and not on the coast. After the tree has been cut down they carry it very carefully to the village, and set it down near the *tawao*, and then, before setting up the tree (the word used for setting it up is *totora*, *tora'i*, the same as that used for building a house or weaving a nest) they go into the feast house (*taohi*), which is near the *tawao*, and they open the oven and eat part of the sacrificed pig. They then return to the *'airasi* and dig a hole and set it upright, its leaves and branches (but it is only the top shoot, some 12 or 15 feet high) remaining on it, and not stripped off as with the Gaviga in the Banks Islands.



They then enclose a large space round the tree in the form of a circle, the enclosing fence consisting of young sprouting coco-nuts, *c*. In the centre of this is the *'airasi*, *a*. At the portion nearest the people and farther from the *tawao* and its accompanying *taohi* is a closed gateway, *b*. Inside the large enclosure are a number of small ones, *d*, square in shape, their number depending on the number of villages attending, the chief of each village having one allotted to himself and his people. These fences (*rihurihu*) are also made of young sprouting coco-nuts, and, like the large outer fence, *ririwaa*, they are destined to be consumed at the end of the feast. At one corner of each is a *wao*, a live sapling stuck into the ground; to set these up is to *horo wao*, and it is now usual at Christmas to stick up such saplings all over the village. To each *wao* or (*ebaa*), a living pig is tied, and inside each small

enclosure is a large amount of uncooked food. This, however, is rather anticipating matters.

After they have set up the tree they go and eat the remainder of the pig, any left over being given to the giver of the feast (*huunai*), who burns whatever he cannot eat, as none must be left. The next day is called *wasi tangusi* (gathering cabbage), and it is on this day that the enclosures of coco-nuts are made and the women gather cabbage. The men also collect the food for the small squares, bananas, yams, and taro, and also pile up a heap of fruit at the base of the *'airasi*: pigs are counted, and food apportioned ; but no woman or stranger may go into the enclosure, only men of the place or of the clan of the owner of the *mangita*.

The next day is called *ngahu boo* or *hunuboo*, and now a live pig is tied to each sapling, and the rest of the pigs are killed close by with a great deal of squealing. Before that comes the dressing of the tree. First (above the food piled round the trunk) is hung a *mwadu* (cowry, with shell money worn on leg) and *otomwago* (leglets of shell money) ; then *hangahari* and *roroahu*, belts of the finest white shell money and red money (sun blood) ; then, a little higher up, *ngaungaurima* (shell money armlets), *hato* (shell armlets), and *dahi* (mother-of-pearl crescent moon) ; then *hitara'i* (disks of shell) and *taraiburi* (crown of cowries), *matesina* (a round shell disk representing the sun), and *ararede* (a round shell disk with rays worn in the ear, and apparently also representing the sun) ; then, above all these, *'ere'ere* or *'e'ere*, a garland made of a creeper (either *mao* or *bwarabwara*) and, woven into its edges, cowries and hanging strings of shell money disks and fish teeth ; and last of all, to crown the tree, the *hunguhungu*, a crown of dyed grass bright scarlet in colour. The interest of this dressing of the tree is that this is the complete festal dress of an Araha (man of the chief's clan), and is still worn now at feasts (but now by many young men who are not Araha), with the exception of the *'ere'ere* and the *hunguhungu*, two features only preserved in the dressing of the *'airasi*. Lastly *ra'o* shell rings, more *hato*, etc., and strings of money (shell disks) are tied on everywhere to the branches, and, at the top, a big bunch, two fathoms or more of the *ha'a mora*, the finest red money.

The last thing done is to kill the pigs and cook the food for the next day's feast. In the evening there is the usual singing, which goes on all night as at ordinary feasts, and the usual night-long speech-making.

Next morning early the feast giver takes a bunch of betel-nuts, called *dadahi*, and puts some betel-nut and betel-leaf in each of the little

enclosures. He stands outside holding a *teteu* of water (a coco-nut cup), and recites a form of words, which I could not obtain, and then throws the water into the large enclosure, opens the gateway, and stands there. He calls to the dancers as the sun rises above the horizon, and they at once begin to dance. They are in a little group between him and the people, where a large open space is kept free of people, and come dancing towards him. He turns and walks round the large enclosure outside, and they follow him dancing, dividing at the gate to right and left, but the two singers and the two hummers go in through the gate and stand inside. Thus they encircle the enclosure, and, meeting again at the gate go off, first two by two and then four by four ; (they *taharoa* ; dancing round the *riri waa* is *waa hanehane* ; and they are said to *raunia i mao* (grace the dance)). They go to where they began to dance, and again divide, so as to make a circle of dancers between the *ririwaa* and the people. The sunlight now falls on them, dancing in a circle with the singers and hummers inside. Four men now enter the circle one by one, the first a shark (*ba'ewa*), the second a frigate hawk (*gaura*), the third a fisherman, the fourth a paddler. All dance, till the shark man calls and they all answer with a shout (*ihu* or *wuu*) and clap their hands, when the dance ends.

This dance is called *Mao* and *Resi*, "Dance of Madam So-and-So yonder." *Re* is a bush word and is used in calling to a woman (you there! *re si* !), and prefixed to women's names, as *ro* is in the Banks Islands, while *wi* is similarly used of men, as *wo* is in the Banks Islands. But these are old terms, probably not so old as the *wa* and *ka* gender prefixes of Bauro, but older probably than the bird clan people. Also the words of the dance song are in a language very much like modern Bauro, but quite different from modern Arosi. This is then evidently an old dance.

At the conclusion of the dance the ovens are opened and the giver of the feast takes the cooked food to the enclosure. He is now accompanied by an orator (*teanga'i*), and these two take their stand at the gate. The orator makes a speech calling up each chief in turn, praising the giver of the feast, urging peace and good conduct, and so on. The giver of the feast stands with a bunch of betel-nuts, and as each chief stands out he is asked if he will refrain from murder and fighting, see that gardens are made and debts paid, and in short be a good chief to his people. He promises in a loud voice that he will, takes a betel-nut, goes back to his village group and sends one of his people to get his share of the pudding and pork in the large enclosure. Then

they all eat. Any food over is thrown about at each other in a sort of food fight, and left lying on the ground.

Again the chiefs are called up, and each is offered and accepts one of the ornaments on the tree, beginning from the bottom and working up to the top, but the garland of leaves and cowries and the scarlet grass crown are not given. Each chief is addressed by the orator and told what he is to have in a regular form of words (this is to *rainiwara*). He thus accepts the responsibility, in common with the other chiefs, of making the next *Rongo rasirasi*, and he goes back and consults his followers. If one of them is rich enough, and desires to make the feast, he goes to the *'airasi* instead of his chief to get the ornament assigned to that chief, whatever it may be. Otherwise the chief goes back himself and gets it. With the ornament he takes some of the money and rings from the branches.

Once more the chiefs are called up in turn, this time to get the uncooked food in the small enclosures and the live pigs tied to the saplings, and finally they eat all the coco-nuts of the *ririwaa* and small fences.

The garland and crown still remain on the tree. If anyone likes he may come and take them with the red shell money (of considerable value), but if he does so he is bound to out-do this feast; whereas if he only takes an ordinary ornament he need only give a similar feast, and generally the garland and crown are not taken.

Then all prepare to go. One of the chiefs has decided to give the next feast, and as he and his followers go off they raise a shout, and all know he has taken up the duty. If they shout while they are still close the feast will be given soon, if they shout farther away, at a longer interval. What this interval is I could not find out, but it is apparently often several years at any rate.

The *tawao* is gaily decorated on the occasion of this feast, with figures of sharks, swordfish, crocodiles, frigate-birds, *bina*, seagulls; painted with red earth and white soft limestone (*marabu*). It is festooned with long strings of coloured grasses—scarlet, yellow, white, and variegated—along its inner stone walls and all about it. Lime is also smeared on it and on the *'airasi*. The dancers' chests have porpoises painted on them, one on each side, and their arms are painted in bands of red, black, and white (red ochre, burnt breadfruit leaves, and *marabu*). An *ira mora*, stone axe, must be used for cutting down the tree, and is not used afterwards for other purposes. When pigs are brought from neighbouring villages (especially from the last giver

of the feast) a trumpet is blown, not the conch, however, but the *ahuri 'au*, bamboo trumpet, a length of bamboo with a split and one end open, the other end with only a small hole bored in it.

The *'airasi* is put in the *tawao* and brought out after some months, when an ordinary feast takes place, and a length is cut off and burnt on the *ariari* (stone platform) of the *tawao*, on top of which a pig is cooked ; some of the chips are taken to the ovens where the pudding for the feast is cooked. In this way at successive ordinary feasts the *'airasi* is gradually consumed, being kept as long as it lasts in the inner, very sacred, chamber of the *tawao*. To consume the *'airasi* gradually in this manner is called *wagiwagi*, a term that otherwise means exultation and rejoicing at the death of an enemy ; and *wagiwagi* are also skulls of slain enemies (or the hair of an enemy) hung up as trophies in the canoe-house.

Note

One of the most interesting points in connexion with this feast is the tree used (*'ai rosi* simply means " withered " or " drooping tree "), which is a variety of *kamau*, a fig. One variety, that used generally at least for *'airasi*, is believed to cause twinges and convulsions of the body, rheumatism and tetanus. This tree is called *huhua* or *huahua* (from the round leaves), *rauri'i* (because they are small), and *parako* ; and from this last is derived the Arosi term for rheumatism *parako*. The *parako* is never used for fire wood, lest the smoke should cause the disease *parako*. In Ulawa the tree is called *parako*, but its other Arosi name *huhua* remains, perhaps, in the Ulawa word for the spasms of tetanus *huhu*. In Mota the tree is called also *palako*, and gives its name to the spasms of tetanus called *palao*, from which probably comes the word *gapalo* for sinews affected, and so generally veins and tendons, a local word which must be late in origin. It is the *palako* which is gaily painted for the Banks Island *kole*, or memorial feast. It seems possible to affirm then that there was a great respect shown to this tree, amounting indeed to worship at any rate in older times, and that the fig had a decidedly sacred character.

The Ho'asia

The *Ho'asia* is one of the most interesting rites practised in San Cristoval, and at first acquaintance it appears very confusing ; but it will perhaps be clearer if I anticipate conclusions reached elsewhere from other evidence, and consider the rite as a combination of the ideas of the Atawa, a people of tree-worshippers, living in round

houses, holding beliefs in *hi'ona* or *figona* spirits, with those of the Araha or Abarihu, an immigrant people worshipping a winged serpent and the sun, living in long houses, and holding religious beliefs regarding stones ; the former burying in the ground round sacred trees, the latter in stone tombs with dolmens.

The word *ho'asia* is the passive form, or passive past participle, of the word *ho'a*, to sacrifice, and means, " sacrificed." It is the harvest festival held in the month when the crops were ripe, and the chief ceremony took place either at noon or at sunrise. The firstfruits are offered, and the two most sacred objects connected with it are a sacred tree and a sacred stone.

It is further remarkable in that it is passed from place to place, beginning at Haununu ; and native tradition makes it certain that it once reached at least to Ulawa and Guadalcanar. But before the advent of white men it had been much circumscribed, and in Arosi only reached as far as Onehatare on the south and Onetere on the north coast, so that only a very small portion of Arosi observed it. This is very remarkable when it is remembered how homogeneous Arosi is in beliefs and rites, as well as language. This appears to be the only important ceremony limited to a portion of Arosi.

Some account was given of it in an earlier chapter (see p. 80), but that was only a partial account. Like so many of these interesting rites, it has probably been observed for the last time ; at any rate, its days are numbered, so it will be the more interesting to describe it as we actually saw it in its original home in February, 1919, though we were told by the chief actor that it was very imperfectly performed and many ceremonies once practised had been omitted. By supplementing what I saw in 1919 in company with some Arosi friends with accounts from other places in Bauro and Arosi we shall be able to get at any rate an idea of the main features of this important festival.

We arrived at Haununu a few days before the *Hogasia* (as it is called there), actually on 24th February. During at least a week previously the people had been very busy fishing and bringing the fish they caught to the *oha* (canoe house). As far as we could learn, nothing else had been done as regards the *Ho'asia*.

The originator of the feast was said to be an historical person named Waganimæ ; and a dead relative of Waganimæ, a ghost named Wagari or Wogari, had a share in the ceremony. It was Waganimæ, we were told, who imparted *mena* to the sacred stone and probably also to the sacred tree. He belonged to the Araha clan,

and this is given as the reason why the Araha men take so prominent a part in the ceremony. Another clan which was said to come second in importance in the *Ho'asia* is the Atawa. The two remaining clans simply take a share in the proceedings. I think myself that the Araha Waganimæ probably was only its originator in the sense that he greatly altered an older ceremony, but this may be put aside for the present. What is clear, at any rate, is that this is a ceremony in which Araha and Atawa are the leading actors.

The *ho'asia* is an offering of firstfruits to a *figona*, a spirit ; but sometimes it is considered to be offered to Hatuibwari, sometimes to Agunua, sometimes to *figona*, who were the helpers of these. Hatuibwari is the winged serpent god of Arosi, who in Bauro becomes feminine *Kahausipwari* (*Ka* is the feminine prefix) ; Agunua or A'unua is the supreme being, male even in Bauro, where all other *figona* are female. It is anticipating later conclusions to say that I believe the *figona* were originally female tree spirits, and may have become confused with the male supreme beings of Arosi and the Araha. At Haununu the offering is to Kagauraha, a *figona* with an incarnation in a red serpent with a crocodile head and the ears of an eel, but Kaweraha had been put in charge of the Ho'asia by Hatuibwari, who came down from heaven on to the hill Namaragi, close to the harbour, which we shall find has an important place in the rites.

On 25th February, the day after our arrival in the district, the people all went to their gardens and brought in some garden produce of every sort, two of each (e.g. two yams) ; one they took to their houses and one they took to the *tawao*, called at Haununu the *rima apuna* or *rima higona*, "the sacred or spirit house." This *tawao* was of the ordinary shape, but not like that of the Rasirasi festival, for inside was a small room built round the two main posts of the large room, and in this was a circular stone oven between the posts, from which hung sacred red money. There was nothing else in the *tawao*. The people returned from their gardens at noon and the chief priest then performed the first rite. At Haununu there are three priests of the *figona*, of whom the chief is Haganihinua. The office is hereditary, but in a peculiar way ; the three priests hand on their priesthood, not to their sons, but to their daughters' sons ; the daughters are called the women (or wives) of the *hi'ona*,[1] and are to some extent sacred. The grandsons are to be

[1] The phrase is *ainuni* or *hehene gana higona*, stronger than *ana higona* and implying "for the use of" the spirit, as though the spirit had some influence on the birth of her son.

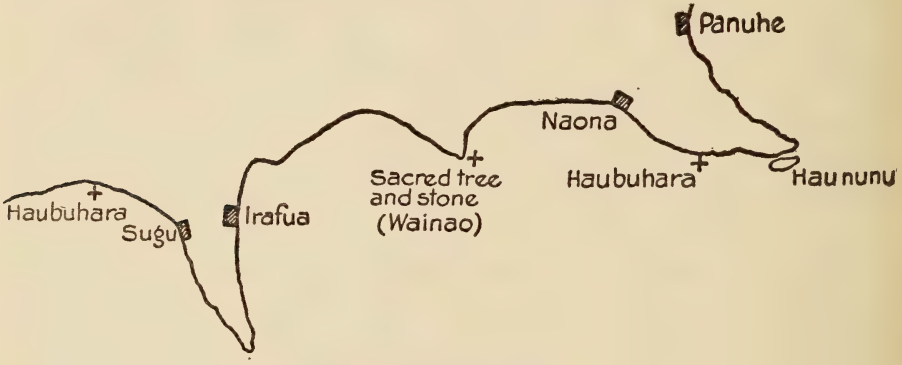
the future priests, and they accompanied, as will be seen, the priests and helped them in all the ceremonies. As these grandsons are now accepting Christianity, it follows that the old rites will cease. It seems that there were once four priests, one for each clan, but on this point there is some doubt; certainly there should have been four boys, but there were only three, as one had recruited; one of the boys was about 17, the other two very much younger, while the priests were all very old men. Haganihinua took very much the leading part, and often went alone into the *tawao*, the other two leaving it apparently very much to him. He is the only one of them who is really devout and cares for the old religion, one of the other two being a professional murderer, who is said to have murdered over sixty people to obtain money. Is a man of bad character generally, while Haganihinua is one of the most courteous and kindly gentlemen it has been my good fortune to meet. At Haununu there are four clans: Araha, Atawa, Maroa, and Amwea, always mentioned in this order. Haganihinua's father was Araha, but I do not know the clan of his mother or the other priests, except that their clans were not the same as his. Haganihinua took two yams and gave them to the people, who took one to the east and one to the west, to the boundaries of the Ho'asia, that on the east being a rock called "the earthquake rock". This is a rock thought to be the pillar on which San Cristoval rests, and is held up by a turtle whose movements cause earthquakes. There used to be drawings of this turtle on the walls of the old *tawao* (in which were real snakes), destroyed by a landslip. The turtle is famous all over San Cristoval, and is sometimes represented with a bird's head.[1] The *hi'ona* and the *Ho'asia* are in some way connected with this rock. To the west of the boundary of the ceremonies is *hau buuhara*, the stamping-rock. Wherever the *Ho'asia* takes place there are two rocks as boundaries, but the eastern rock of one village will be the western boundary of the one before it.

The sketch map will make the proceedings clearer, but I should say it is drawn from memory of a place I have not seen since the time of the Ho'asia two years ago. The *hau buuhara* to the east will be the western *hau buuhara* for villages to the east, while the *hau buuhara* by the village Sugu is the eastern *hau buuhara* for villages further west, and for the bush villages through which the *Ho'asia* crosses to the other coast and, in ancient times, to Ulawa beyond. But Sugu, Irafua, Naona

[1] Cf. the tale of Hasihonu'eero and of the turtle which fished up Santa Anna, p. 132.

(where the priest Haganihinua lives and the *tawao* is found) and Panuhe share the one *Ho'asia*, on the one sacred tree and stone at Wainao.

The two yams were taken east and west and touched by everyone, man, woman, children, babies, whole and sick people; no one must be omitted. They were then taken back to Haganihinua, who took them into the *tawao* and put them in the central chamber, hanging them up on the posts. He came out backwards, keeping his face towards the stone oven within. He then assembled all the people and chose four men, one from each clan, and told them to wait for Wagari the ghost to announce to them the arrival of the *Ho'asia*. The people would stand outside their houses and these men would take their stand at the four burial grounds (*Mastawa*), which are separate for each clan at Haununu. Men were also to be posted at the *oha* or canoe-houses.



HAUNUNU DISTRICT.

Next day, very early in the morning before the dawn, Haganihinua went into the *tawao* and offered a burnt sacrifice of fish, and then roasted a yam and came out. The three boys stood in front of the *tawao*, the Araha boy in the centre, to whom Haganihinua gave the yam. He stretched out his arms to the other two, holding the yam, and the three then went to the sacred tree and stone at Wainao, and there they separated, Araha and Maroa going to the eastern, Atawa and Amwea to the western *hau buuhara*. First they sat down and rose up twice, and then set off, going silently and very slowly in step, heel to toe, as with boys coming out of *maraufu*, so that though Haganihinua had sacrificed before dawn it was noon before the boys got back from the two *hau buuhara*, and they trod every inch of the coast, carrying the sacred yam. When they passed the *mastawa* the man at each asked them: "How many days is it to the *Ho'asia*?"

and the boys in silence raised the first and second fingers of their right hands. These boys (the whole four) are called Wagari, the name of the ghost. This question was repeated and answered in the same way in front of the *oha*. The boys kept their eyes on the ground and looked at no one, and past the *mastawa* they walked very slowly indeed. When the watchers at the *mastawa* asked the question they stuck into the ground stakes of the *arabusi* tree and on each a coco-nut. The boys went to the *hau buuhara*, but the Araha boy to the *hau nunu*, where he bit his yam and spat it out again, saying: "The yam is bitter and bad, the year is bitter and bad." The yam, however, was well cooked. In other villages of the island all the people cook and eat food at the *hau buuhara*, and there they also spit out the food and use the same words, but in their case they really only half cook the food, leaving the yams to roast only a short while. These boys had lime on the chest and face, a long streak coming up under the nose in front of the ear on each side and meeting over the eyes, and a similar streak on the chest, forming a rough circle. They had leaves of *hahe* (Evordia) tied to their wrists. They got back to Haganihinua about noon, and went into the *tawao* with him; he took the *hahe* leaves into the inner chamber and hung them up, and they, standing in the outer room, wiped off the lime with coco-nut bark, which Haganihinua brought from the inner chamber, and replaced there.

The next day, 26th February, was called *'Ohua* (the cooking, with hot stones in wooden bowls). They *'ohua i ho'asia* (cook the offering). They eat in the morning, but towards noon Haganihinua ordered all fires to be put out, and taking a bamboo water-vessel (*rata*) he himself went to every house and poured water on the fires and even on stones that were hot, the fire for the new year being shortly to be lighted in the *tawao*. He got back to the *tawao* about 10 or 11 o'clock. From the time of the putting out the fires no one must smoke, chew betel nut, or eat anything. The new fire was not lighted till sunset, and about then Haganihinua (who with the boys had remained fasting in the *tawao*) rubbed fire in the inner chamber, and having lit it and tended it on the sacred stone oven, he heated a stone and boiled water in a bowl, and then gave the bowl to the boys, who poured out the water and gave it back to him. From this fire in the *tawao* fire is then carried to all the houses, but, in the case of Sugu, to the *oha*, whence it is distributed. The people all cook their food with stones made red hot in the new fire, and feed not only themselves but all the dogs and pigs, and throw a little into the streams and a little into the sea. Haganihinua and the

boys continued to fast, but prepared food for the next day, as did all the people.

Next morning, 27th February, was the Ho'asia, and before dawn two men went up on to the hill Namaragi to which the *figona* Hatuibwari had descended from heaven; each carried a bamboo trumpet, and just before dawn the trumpets sounded on the hill and from that time till they had "carried the Ho'asia" no one could eat, smoke, or chew betel-nut. The boys went to Wainao with material to be used later by the people. All the people assembled by the *tawao* and broke off branches of the sacred *hahe* growing round it, or got branches of dracaena from the *mastawa*. Each must have a branch in each hand. About noon they all went to the sacred stone and tree, each carrying his branches and also crooks of *'au hasu*, a variety of bamboo, the signal being given by the trumpets sounding again on Namaragi Hill. Some of the people climbed the sacred tree, an *'ado'a* nut, and stripped it of its fruit with their crooks. Others went to the sacred stone, or rather stones, for there were two, a black volcanic diorite and a white quartzite. The people with flint chips scraped off chips of these stones and added water and lime in a *tetu* (coco-nut cup) and marked their faces and chests, as the boys had done previously. They also tied dracaena round their necks and put *hahe* in their hair and on their wrists. They also made a little model of a house, a *ruma waiho* (the ordinary house of the present day), 3 feet long, 2 feet broad, and 1 ft. 7 in. high, and a miniature garden. In this *ba'eba'e* (poles) were put for the yams to run up and creepers of *raraasi* and *hure*, representing yams, trained up them. The crooks (*simwa*) and the *ba'eba'e* were some of them put on the sacred stones and left there.

The next ceremony was very interesting. The people, their faces limed and covered with stone chips, gathered together holding their *hahe* and dracaena branches, and a man of the Araha clan went up the hill Namaragi and climbed into a banyan. When he had done so the people walked round the stones and then made a long double line from the forest to the sea and put their crooks across, , so as to form a long covered way or arch. An Araha man then took an outrigger canoe and carried it down to the sea under this long arch, the people standing in two ranks facing him, in the middle the sacred stones over which he carried the canoe. As soon as he launched it the two lines turned right about, but looked over their shoulders at the stones. The Araha man paddled well out and then stood up in the canoe and went through the action of drawing up a fish, and then recited a long prayer

in a loud voice to Kagauraha, similar to that given in Chapter VI (see p. 80). At each pause of the prayer the Araha on the banyan-tree on the hill answered with a shout: *Io, io,* " Yes, yes."

This was a long affair, as the protection of Kaweraha is asked for every bird, fish, yam, etc., by name, one by one, apparently all those known to the people; and she is asked to drive away all sicknesses, named in detail. But the whole was impressive, with the answering shouts of *Io, io,* from the banyan on the hill above. Finally, the Araha in the canoe shouted: " *Kagauraha, ia wou, mia mai Kagauraha*" (" It goes away, ebbs away"), and this was the sending forth of the *Ho'asia,* the Araha man in the banyan shouting: " *Io,* the Ho'asia is over," and the people gave a very peculiar shout in high-pitched voices: *Hui! hui! hui!* and went off to the villages. Sham or real fighting with spears (they had none on this occasion) or the crooks now took place, and men were often killed, but no fine would be paid, and it was believed that the soul of anyone so killed at the Ho'asia would go swiftly to Hatuibwari and " see her face ".

So they came towards the villages where the women and children were waiting for them. A green young coco-nut had been put ready by one of each clan in each village to be taken and offered at the *mastawa* when the trumpets sound. These are called *niu marawa.* Haganihinua also took one and put it in the *tawao* (four days earlier he had put a coco-nut flower in the *tawao*) in the inner chamber over the oven (that is, he sacrifices it), and then sat at the door of the *tawao* waiting for the people. The people met them as they came fighting and snatched the branches from them and swept the houses and brushed the posts and struck their bodies and the dogs and pigs and tame birds and everything in the houses, thus driving off sickness. Afterwards these branches were stuck into the gable ends till the next Ho'asia. Then they rush into the sea and bathe, and at this Ho'asia they all swam home, but that may not be part of the ceremony. The trumpeters on the hill sounded their trumpets and the Ho'asia and the feast was over (next day the nearest villages along the coast and in the bush took it up, performed it, and passed it on).

Then followed the feast; all the men went into the *oha,* and the priests and boys into the *tawao.* Haganihinua took a bowl of cooked food and offered it to the *figona,* and then the priests and boys took it to the men in the *oha.* The bowls were distributed and the men all stand holding their bowls and looking towards the *tawao.* Haganihinua shouted: *Ooo!* and the men all replied with a loud shout: *Hii, Hii,* and ate

pudding and dog and fish, but the women could not eat yet. They ate facing the *raherahe*, platform for sacrifices, and threw any bones or scraps that fall underneath it. The boys then got fire from the oven in the *tawao*, and made a fire under the *raherahe* and burnt up all the scraps. From the fire in the *tawao* fires were kindled in all the houses, and the people cook and ate. The men went home, the boys washed the bowls, the festival was over.

The canoe in which the Araha man had paddled out into the sea was brought to Haganihinua and the outrigger was removed from it, and both the canoe and outrigger were taken into the *tawao* and left there.

There was one rite omitted which I saw a few days later at Bia, when the *Ho'asia* reached that place, and which I have heard of at other *Ho'asia*, at Wairaha, near Pamua, and other places. When they come to the *hau ho'asia* (sacred stone) one of their acts is to make a round house. One of the men sticks a spear into the ground, and others bring branches of Evordia and dracaena and lean them against the spear all round, till a small round house, *ruma ahuri*, is made. They then twine creepers round it to make it more secure. Round houses about 18 feet high, with steep conical roofs and decorations at the summit, were once, it is said, general in San Cristoval, and I have seen one or two, but they are no longer made ; and the reason given is that in such houses *adaro* had power to devour them, but that they could not enter the long house ; so that the making at the Ho'asia of a round house of sacred trees at the same time as a miniature long house is especially interesting.

At Bia the people instead of walking along the shore paddled along to the *hau ho'asia* in outrigger canoes, and this, too, is done elsewhere. The tree is by no means always an *'ado'a* nut. At Tawapuna and near Pamua the trees are *nau* and *gafegafe* varieties of *'ahi'a* or Malay apple ; at Wango it is a *huu* (*Barringtonia speciosa*) ; near Hawaa a *maranuri*, I believe ; at Bia a *mabwe*, Tahitian chestnut ; at Mwanihuki a *pirupiru* ; at Makira a *tataro* ; but in every case they pull down the fruit with their crooks and completely strip the tree. They are careful not to break the branches, for if they do so someone will fall from a nut-tree during the year. At Bia, also at the *hau ho'asia*, they repeatedly struck a stone with their sacred branches, and danced here and at the *hau buuhara* ; and while they did so the trumpet was blown. In the houses, too, they struck the posts not only with the Evordia and dracaena, but with the bamboos and coco-nut palm fronds with a great deal of noise and

shouting. I was told that the striking of the stone with their branches imparted *mena*, and this afterwards acted on the houses. The fire made is called *'eu ana hi'ona* " the fire belonging to the spirit ".

Necessarily as the feast goes successively from place to place, they celebrate it on different days of the moon, as it wanes ; but except at Haununu itself I found the ceremony always took place at sunrise or very early. The chief difference between the rites at Haununu and elsewhere seems to be that at the former place they take several days and are more elaborate, while elsewhere the rites are all crowded into one day and often begin at midnight, and the part taken by the priests and boys is elsewhere performed by the people, not so elaborately. The putting out of the fires and lighting the sacred new fire (at the sacred tree), the touching of the single yam, etc., all took place at the same time as the sending forth of the *Ho'asia*. But in several places the sympathetic magic was very much fuller, a round stone to represent puddings, a creeper to represent ropes for nutting, a bit of flint to represent axes, and so on, being set up at the sacred tree. And sometimes the bamboo trumpets were used much more ; the conch trumpet does not seem to be used at all.

At Bia when they struck the stone with their branches the words used were as follows :—

'O'ari isi ma mwaheahea i abemu, a'i mwaheahea i abemu 'ini hane ngari, meiraau i urao a'i mwaheahea rima adaau 'inia i rahia i gagare, 'inia i bwa'ora i ngari, mana 'ira'ini odo, ma a'i tahi goro i hereho-i-ngau ma a'i dangi goro, 'o asira'i noni 'ini tauaro, ma'i tahi goro i boo, ma'i tahi goro i noni, ma'i 'ari baania i noni i riunga mara bwango mana maemaeha rago, i i'a na'i manata no'ai asi, mana hereho-i-ngau a'i mamagi, abwa'i mahai uhi mana hana.

Go there and thy body be light, thy body be light for nut-climbing, and the women be light for bringing forth children, for first fruits of nuts and axes for work, and the food grow well, and fair weather shine upon (?) men for work, and the pigs thrive, and men thrive, and plague and colds and accidents shun men, and fish be tame in the sea and food be sweet, let not yam and *hava* (a yam) be bitter.

In the houses they said :—

A'i hura'a baania i ruma adaro si, Araha, mana hura'a baania-i-ruma i mata'i mana bwango mana hu'u.

Let those *adaro* leave the houses, Araha, and ague, colds, and coughs leave the houses.

But these are not *haiaru*, set forms of words, and may be varied

at will. The Araha referred to is Hatuibwari, variants of the name in Arosi being Hatoibwari, Hatuipwari, Hatipwari, Haudibwari, and Hausibwari.

For the present I only wish to draw special attention to some of the facts of the *Ho'asia*. First, the two chief clans are Araha and Atawa, and they seem to be almost rival leaders; if from a general survey of San Cristoval customs it should appear that Araha are a body who came to San Cristoval much later than the Atawa, then we should have to decide to which body the Ho'asia really belongs. An Araha man is said to be the originator, and a dead relative of his takes part in the rites. A good deal of notice is taken of the dead, offerings are made to them, and branches taken from the *mastawa*. There is some connexion with the turtle. Lime is used and the sacred stone is an important feature; and the Araha are generally associated with stones and stone work. Another point is the importance attached to the sacred fire. The boys going heel to toe remind us of a *marauhu* rite, which is certainly Araha.

Other points to be noted are the great importance of the sacred tree. The trees have names which are very widespread in the Pacific. Names of San Cristoval trees do not usually show very close agreement with Mota names, but here we have *ngari, mabwe huu, 'ahi'a, tataro, pirupiru nau,* in Mota *ngai, make vutu, gaviga, tataro, pirupiru-natu.* Evordia and dracaena play an important part. Again, women share in the rite, at some places they even go to the *hau ho'asia*. Descent is not from father to son, but to grandson, for the priestly office. The conch is not used, but the bamboo trumpet. Atawa are much associated with sacred trees.

A very important point is that of the man in the canoe on the sea, and the man in a banyan (a tree round which the dead of the dual people were buried) on the land. Prayers are addressed from the sea to the land. But the banyan is on the hill to which the Winged Serpent came. Food cooked with the sacred fire is cast on the streams and in the sea. In the sympathetic magic both the long house and round house are built. What I suggest for the present is that the festival may be a compromise between two rival rites, including features of both, and intended to bring into harmony the powers possessed by each.

CHAPTER XXVI

NOTES ON VARIOUS BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS

1. *Kuhikuhi.*—These are river demons ; they have human form, but fins instead of arms, and they live under water in deep pools and the deeper reaches of rivers. People bathing are surrounded by these creatures, dragged down, drowned, and devoured. They are hunted by dropping a heavy log lengthwise into the pool, when the *Kuhikuhi*, thinking it is their human prey, rise to it and are speared.

2. *Kuruwaiane.*—These are small blind people, with no nose, and only one eye in the centre of the forehead. They had power to walk right through trees or rocks, saying magic words to open or close them.

3. *Boiboi.*—A little man who used to live at the bottom of the sea near Rumahui. When he wished to come ashore he made a rope of fishes, climbed up into his canoe, and then paddled ashore at night and stole fruit from the gardens. He was finally chased and captured, and lived an ordinary human life at Rumahui, where he married and his descendants are still there. Such creatures are described elsewhere, and always called *boiboi.*

4. *Ware'abu.*—This is a cuscus which lives on the north coast near Etemwarore. There is another like it in the interior near Adoaioo. It is alive one half, and dead and rotting the other half. To see it is a death omen.

5. *Uraohi.*—These are *adaro* who lurk in trees and throw stones at people, but do not otherwise injure them. Some say they are the ghosts of people long dead, and others that they are the ghosts of the commoners.

6. *Mola.*—These live in Guadalcanar, and their name is not Arosi. They are small people with long hair and very dark skins. They make stone circles with one round stone in the centre, into which they go. They eat children, stabbing them with their long claw-like nails, and putting them in a big bag. They are ruled by a queen, called Voro, whose daughter succeeds her. They live in the far interior

of Guadalcanar in the high mountains. The name seems to connect them possibly with the Kakamora, whom on the whole they resemble.

7. *Ba'eba'earo.*—This is a legendary village near Heuru. The people divided themselves into two companies, and made a stairway with the object of climbing up into the sky ; one company cutting the material and the other putting it together. They all climbed up together, but when very high the stairway fell and all were killed. They were not Masi or Kakamora, but ordinary people.

8. *Sautabaio'o.*—A legendary hero who soaked in water a *maro* tree (mulberry), and it became a long dress in which he lived, going in and out. He broke a taboo, but avoided capture for a time by going in and out of a stone with his canoe. He was an adept at bonito fishing, and caught them with dracaena leaves.

9. *Suganainoni.*—A legendary hero who was born from a dead woman. To avenge his mother, who had been killed by a sky spirit, he made a fire and ascended to the sky by the smoke, whence, after accomplishing his purpose and having many adventures, he returned in the same way.

PROVERBS

Borebore mara Atawa, to stare like Atawa.

Son'ai mara Atawa, to ask questions like Atawa.

Used of inquisitive people—

Wotowoto mara Atawa, to give like Atawa.

Used of stingy people—to give only one thing, be reluctant to give—

Pworepwore mara apaw matawa, to stare like the far end of the open sea.

This is a Haununu proverb, equivalent to the Arosi *borebore mara Atawa* ; and it is interesting to find *apau matawa* for *Atawa.*

Boribori mara hu'o i Mara, to wrap up like the Mara clan.

To make a great to-do about a little matter, as though wrapping up something very small in a number of wrappings.

Mwaeraha bwausi waiau, chief, head of bonito.

To have position and rank but be poor, because the bonito is a famous fish, but the head is not worth eating.

Ha'aoni mara kuka mwane, send forth like a male crab.

Of a man who goes with others working, but does not work because the female crab bears *rami,* eggs, but the male carries nothing.

Mwa'anu mara pirisu ; bathe like the *pirisu* bird ; which stands in the water, ducks its head, and does not rub its body.

Heingahu mara mwaa, fight like a snake. Of a man who does

not revenge himself; because the snake does not run away and lets himself be killed.

The worm and the house-lizard (*Durae mana 'O'orodidi*).—These two were walking about in the evening in their house, which they shared. The *durae* pronounced a spell :—

Ao mai na rangi, ao he na bani " Come, rain, hide in the wall "
(Since *durae* hide in the walls of a house.)

The *'o'orodidi*, enraged, pronounced another spell :—

Ao mai na uta, wa surai 'uruha
Wa sura horosia
" Come, rain, . . . (?) "

Betel-chewing.—A man must not bite round a betel-nut (or some one in his clan will die), but must bite lengthwise. If a boy with his first set of teeth chews betel-nut he must throw the husks into the fire or his teeth will fall out.

Pregnant Woman.—If an Araha woman is pregnant she must not leave the house. Only one sea-fish may be eaten, *gamwa*, and only one thing from a stream, *'oree* (a prawn). Other women may go outside but only at high tide; it is only at high tide that women give birth successfully.

Ni mwane.—Belonging to a man, sacred.

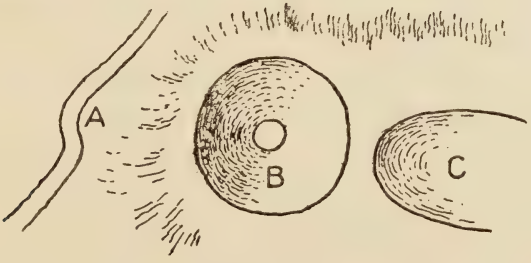
Niuni mwane.—The coco-nut where the bonito canoes used to land and were washed. The bonito blood made the place sacred. It was taboo to women, and they could not eat the nuts from this tree.

Boo ni mwane.—A man would strike a pig on the back calling the name of an *adaro*, and cut the right ear. Later it would be eaten by men only, part being burnt as a sacrifice to the *adaro*.

Obo ni mwane.—A pool where only men bathed.

Bwea ni mwane.—A platform built at the front end of a house on which only men could sit and over which no woman must pass.

Ni mwane is also used of the space in front of an *oha*, which no woman was allowed to cross.



Dancing Ground of Kakamora.

This is about a mile inland from Heuru. A is a stream ; B is a deep circular hollow with steep sides on the summit of a limestone knoll ; C is a hollow sloping away, not so deep as B. How this hollow (B) was formed on the summit of a limestone knoll it is hard to say. In the hollow (B) the male Kakamora danced on moonlight nights ; the women in the hollow, C.

Bush Dance.—In the Bauro Bush there is a dance, *Weto,* in a circle with two men in the middle, the dancers moving round the circle, as in Santa Cruz or the Banks Islands. This is entirely unlike the ordinary dances, in which the men dance in companies, with dramatic figures. In the Bauro Bush there was also once a woman's dance. In Arosi dances men wear a fringe similar to a woman's fringe, but made of coco-nut leaves ; it is called the *age maomao,* that worn by women being simply called *age* and made of *'abe* strands.

Myth of Sun and Moon.—Once the world was a very hot place with few streams, and vegetation only along the course of the streams, and everywhere else bare rocks and sand. This was because the Moon was as powerful as the Sun, and was the enemy of mankind, burning things up every night he shone. So the Sun, who was man's friend, got some trees and bit them half through with his teeth and made a bridge where the Moon was to cross the sea. Thus he fell into the sea when the bridge broke and became cold. Since then mankind has had cool nights, plenty of water, trees and plants growing plentifully, and good seasons.

Fasting.—When a man or woman is fasting (*ha'ariri*) from, say, coco-nut, not only does he not eat coco-nuts, but he will not eat pudding flavoured with coco-nuts, or soup over which coco-nuts have been wrung out, or sleep on a coco-nut leaf mat (*rarare*), or put food in a coco-nut leaf basket (*karupenga*), or crush his pudding with a coco-nut leaf frond (*aiha*), or use anything made of, or in any way connected with, a coco-nut.

Levitation.—Levitation is described as common both in the case of sacred stones and of priests, some of whom were levitated large distances through the air.

Clans.—When it is said that in former times clans lived separately in a village (and this was everywhere the case) it is meant that the village was divided into portions, each of which had its *oha* or men's house, and in one portion lived all the married men of one clan. The women in such a portion might be of several different clans, but the Araha men, the Mwara men, the Bora men, and so on, lived together.

The children lived at first with their mothers, but the boys soon went and lived in the *oha* of their own clan, and then when they were married continued to live in this portion of the village. Even now this is partly done. When, as sometimes happened, the village was one long house, perhaps 100 yards long, it was divided up into compartments quite separate for each clan.

Yams.—The firstfruits of a yam garden were put in the *oha* as a sacrifice and were painted, in red and white lozenges, with red earth and a white limestone rock called *marabu.* Sometimes also *maro'uro'u* (snake), shark's tooth, and circles were painted at the end of the yam or over the whole of it.

First Ships.—The first European ships remembered are those of the early whalers at Makira, more than eighty years ago. They were called *Wa'urinimatawa* "The skin of the horizon or distant sea", and the sailors were called *Waabemarasiwi* "The people with bodies like a parrot"; because it is said they wore red shirts; and this was the first name for white men. Their boats were called *tamatamarere,* because they rowed facing the stern and not the bow. The origin of *haka* for a ship and white men is unknown, but it was in very early use, apparently before the Melanesian Mission had visited Mota, so that it is unlikely to be the Mota word *aka.* Verguet before 1850 gives *waka* as the word for ship, and this is still remembered. How the change came to *haka* is not known.

Karukaru.—This is a scratch made by a woman on her shoulders with the claw of a *tehe* hawk, as a sign that she has had intercourse with a man.

Names of Weapons, etc.—Most famous weapons, bowls, and gongs were given names. Thus there is a famous club called Tabwari, a famous spear called *Angira*; a famous food-bowl, *Marodo mwaruru*; a famous gong, *Rebini henua* (the last two in my possession); a famous food-bowl for sacrifices, *Horo henua*; and so on. These are greatly prized, and are used often to work magic. A club at Marunaiburu was very ancient, and was used to make rain by taking it to a pool and dipping it in the water; and the great food-bowl which had been used for burial and was kept in a cave near Tawasurua (Waruhiga) was occasionaly used to make rain simply by being brought out of the cave and set up in the *oha* of the village.

Ordeal.—A favourite ordeal was by heating stones red hot, and then holding them in the hand, when if the man were innocent no harm would result. The people say that men had power to hold or tread on

stones which were even white hot, without any burn appearing on the flesh.

When a man took the stone in his bare hand he pronounced the following oath:—

Hau wadawadaaraha,
Ona na'i odonisia ma'o gu'i wadawada raha,
Wadahia i tarai kakau rahana ;
Ona na'i odonisia ma 'o gu'i wadawada raha,
Ma ona na'i bwa'i odomisia ma'o gasi wadawada raha,
'O'i wanu ta'a.
Hau wadawada ari'i
Ona na'i odonisia ma'o gu'i wadawada ri'i,
A'i noro i tarai kakauraha isi,
Ma ona abwa'i odonisia ma'o gu'i gasi wawada,
Wada ri'i, ma a'i wanu ta'a moi bwabwahe, ni rumana isi.

Red stone (or power), Araha,
If it is truly so (the crime) then be greatly red.
Redden his thumbs ;
If it is truly so, then be greatly red,
But if it be not true, then be not greatly red,
Be very cold.
Red stone (or power), *ari'i*
If it be truly so, then be slightly red,
Let it burn the thumbs there,
But if it be not truly so, then be not red,
Be slightly red, and let the palm of his hand there be very cold.

To take the power out of the stone afterwards (for this was what made it act unlike an ordinary stone) a *haiaru* was used, of which the following was the form:—

Hau moria raha, nau moria raha,
Au moria mai baania i bwabwahe ni rumana,
Au moria mai baania i tarai kakaurahana,
Au moria mai wanu ta'a,
Hau moria ri'i, nau moria ri'i,
Au moria mai baania i bwabwahe ni ruma isi,
Au moria mai waanusi.

Stone emptied (of power) greatly, I empty you greatly,
I empty it hither from the palm of his hand,
I empty it hither from his thumbs,
I empty it hither very cold.
Stone emptied slightly, I empty it slightly,
I empty it hither from the palm of the hand there,
I empty it hither cold.

In translating *ri'i* " slightly " I am translating literally the usual meaning of the word; but in all charms *raha* and *ri'i* form a pair. In the garden charm for example the garden is put in the charge of the amaranthus *raha* and amaranthus *ri'i*; just as the chief and the son to succeed him are *araha* and *ari'i*. It is suggested elsewhere that in this *ari'i* we have the Polynesian word for chief, the Polynesians using for some reason the second word of the pair, and the reason as already mentioned may be perhaps contained in the Tahitian custom described by Ellis of elevating the child (*ari'i*) to be chief when he is born, the father being thenceforward only the regent acting on behalf of the *ari'i*, who would become *araha* on his father's death. But, as Ellis says, if his own son were born first (and this sometimes happened) he would never be chief at all. Thus *araha* would cease to be as good a term as *ari'i* for chief, since an *ari'i* was always the chief, but one who was *araha* might often not be so. The meaning of *ariki* in Maori is a first-born male or female in a family of note, hence chief priest[1]; elsewhere in Polynesia it simply means chief, leader or king; while *araha* seems to be lost in Polynesia.

Human Sacrifices.—The human sacrifices formerly practised in the gardens have been already mentioned. These seem to have been sacrifices to spirits in the trees or represented by the trees; sacrifices to female *figona*. Besides these when a new *oha* was built, or a new canoe launched, or a first-born son born there was a human sacrifice if possible. Where there was a shark rock and sacred sharks this was done by the help of these familiar sharks who brought a victim. To consecrate a house, or canoe, or child in this way with a slain victim was called *ha'a maraufu*, which also means to initiate into some custom, an initiated person being a *maraufu*, and a canoe house or canoe was *maraufu* when a victim had been slain. Till then it could not be used. *Maraufu* seems to mean to do a thing for the first time. In Bauro at

[1] Tregear, *Maori Comparative Dictionary*.

the death of a chief his wife was sometimes killed, voluntarily on her part. A case of this kind occurred soon after the advent of the first magistrate, all the people of the place taking a hand in spearing the woman so that the guilt might be equally with all.

Cursing Trees.—When a man has a grudge against a neighbour he says: "So and so in that tree" (naming the tree); and the neighbour must climb the tree, or give the man money for a twig of it. The point is to put a man in an inaccessible tree. He is sure to have to buy the twig, for he will be troubled with ghosts till he does. For example, a party lately came over to Heuru from Malaita and took advantage of the occasion to go up into a San Cristoval village in the interior and put various Malaita friends of theirs in a large tree in the village, carrying away with them twigs of it. Now unless these Malaita men care to make the long canoe voyage over to Heuru and the difficult further journey to the interior, they will be plagued with ghosts till they consent to purchase the twigs the voyagers carried home with them. This custom shows a certain advantage in travel to a distant place; cf. the Mota curse mentioned by Dr. Codrington "*Iniko vawo aru ilone*" "You are in that casuarina".

Some Omens

The *Waitoto*, a yellow-breast, comes near if an enemy is near. They ask him if it is an enemy, and the bird calls, meaning "Yes". "In what direction?" and he flies towards the enemy; or if he comes to foretell a death they question him, and learn from his call when he says yes.

The *Noninoni*, a bat, comes into a house; some traveller will arrive next day.

If you see a black snake at the descent to Maro'u a relative will die.

If you see the sun and moon reflected together in water you will fall from a tree.

If a brush turkey comes to a village or into a house there will be a death;

Or if an owl (*ngai*) sits on the roof and defecates;

Or if the river floods without rain;

Or if a bowl shakes of itself, or breaks without cause;

Or if a rat gnaws raw food, or bites a man.

Someone is coming from a distance if *bebenione*, a small white and black butterfly, comes to the door;

Or if a small bat, *roge siusiu*, calls;

Or if an axe slips when cutting;

Or if you throw a nut-shell and strike a nut-tree.

If a torch cracks and drips there is a ghost present.

If a man going fighting slips, he goes back.

If you are walking in the bush and the *Waitoto* calls, some visitor has arrived at your house.

If in fighting you see a red parrot, the enemy is near.

If a red parrot calls at night a ghost is near.

If you dream of husking coco-nuts that are sprouting a large pig is coming towards the village, if you dream the coco-nuts are drinking-nuts a little pig is coming.

If you are hunting cuscus and get one with a missing toe-nail you will find another.

If you are fishing eels and kill one, and its tail wriggles, you will catch another.

If a locust sings there is an eel close by.

If a pigeon coos someone is coming to you.

CHAPTER XXVII

ULAWA AND AROSI

THE social organization of San Cristoval has been described fully in a previous chapter. Before referring briefly to it, it will be useful to describe that of Ulawa, so closely related in many ways to that of San Cristoval, and throwing, it seems to me, a great deal of light upon the latter.

Ulawa society is divided into chiefs and commoners, the *Alaha* and the *Mwai Komu*; a man of the former is called *mwaitapaina*, of the latter *mwaita'a* (*mwai* = *mwane*, a male); an *alaha* woman is called *keitapaina* (*Kei* = *Keni*, a female), and a woman of the commoners *keita'a*. So far, then, it agrees with San Cristoval, and it also agrees with it in the very important matter of descent, for with *alaha* descent is patrilineal, while with the commoners it is always matrilineal: *takiha* means a person of one's own *komu* or clan, one's own father is not a *takiha*, except among the chiefs. I inquired into this very carefully, and found no doubt about it. A man belongs to his mother's *komu* and must marry a woman of another *komu*. To translate *komu* as "family", and *takiha* as "a member of the same family", as Dr. Ivens does, does not make this quite clear, and *komu* would be better translated "clan".

But there are some very important differences between Ulawa and San Cristoval, and the chief of these is the existence in Ulawa of a group called *Apoloa*, intermediate between chiefs and commoners. If a chief marries one of the *mwai komu*, the relatives (the *uweli*, *inia*, etc.) are *apoloa*, that is commoners connected by marriage with the chiefs. If an *alaha* woman marries an *apoloa* man, the children will not be *alaha* but *apoloa*. In this case only can a commoner be said to follow the father, but not the father's *komu* as such, only the father's position in the group called *apoloa*. That is to say there is only patrilineal descent among the commoners when they are influenced by the ideas of the chiefs.

Another thing that rather confuses matters in Ulawa is that the clans have no names as in San Cristoval. The descendants of the people who came from the island Teonimanu when that was submerged are said to be Amwea. There is also a Komu called *komu ni mwado,* which is said to be descended from a child born to a woman who had been some days in her grave, the same story exactly as that told of the *adaro* clan in San Cristoval, and the *komu ni mwado* is sometimes called *akalo* ; but beyond these I could not hear of names for the *komu.* One *komu* could not eat the *'ulehu* fish, another *komu* paid special reverence to a bird, and so on, but it could hardly be called totemism, but rather that connexion with birds, fish, and animals so characteristic of Bauro.

I was very much struck with the high position of the *alaha.* The chief at Ahia talked in the most contemptuous way about the commoners. He could not understand why I was interested in them, and turned the conversation always back to the *alaha.* A woman actually married to *alaha* (from the commoners) is *alaha,* but her sister, for example, is *apoloa. Apoloa* might marry with one of the *komu,* but *alaha* now always marry *alaha* or *apoloa,* or, at any rate, always did until lately. Both *apoloa* and *alaha* men and women were called *mwaitapaina* and *keitapaina.* Dr. Ivens does not give the word *Apoloa* in his dictionary of *Ulawa,* except as a Saa word. The first two chiefs to come to Ulawa were Haununu horomatawa and Haununupaina (the chiefly prefix *hau* is worthy of note (see p. 359)). These first chiefs settled at Su'uholo. They came, they say, to a people without chiefs and instituted chieftainship. From Su'uholo they gradually introduced chiefs into other villages. The same things distinguish them from others as in the case of the San Cristoval Araha, the same connexion with the hawk, the same ornaments, familiar sharks, *malauhu* for boys, and so on.

The Masi of Ulawa are exactly the same as in San Cristoval, a race of people who did everything in a foolish way and yet were artisans and workmen. But here and in Malaita people are pointed out who are the descendants of the Masi, for example Martin Houalaha of Malaita. The Masi are quite distinct from the legendary small people, but sometimes the two get confused together ; as in San Cristoval the same stone working, any very large work in stone, is ascribed now to the Kakamora and now to the Masi. In Ulawa the Mwasiu correspond to the San Cristoval Kakamora. Dr. Ivens seems to have heard traditions of the Masi being small people. I shall return to this subject at the end of the chapter ; but note here how like the Ulawa and San Cristoval

traditions of the Masi are to the Hawaii traditions of the Menehune, as given in the *Polynesian Journal* for June, 1920 (vol. xxix, No. 2).

Finally, I give an account of the *maraufu*, or initiation of an Alaha boy, as written for me by a native of Ulawa. It is rather fragmentary, but adds some interesting facts to those already given.

When a woman is pregnant with a chief, her father's people and the boy's father's people will begin to say: "By and by he will be initiated if it is a boy." On the day he is born the priest blesses (or charms) water, and then he is bathed in it, either by his mother or mother's mother; and they give the priest a flintstone which he blesses, and then the baby's head is shaved; but the hair is not thrown away, they dig a hole in the house and bury it. The mother must not carry the child outside and no one but the father and mother must carry him about; if he defecates it must be buried in a hole; if he is washed he must be washed over a hole, inside the house. So he must remain for rather more than a year, and then his grandfather (*sic*) gives him a present of shell money, four fathoms, and touches him. For the custom is that till his grandfather touches him no one else may do so. But when he has once touched him all the people touch him, and each gives him a present of money. If his mother carries him into anyone's house the owner must given him a present of money.

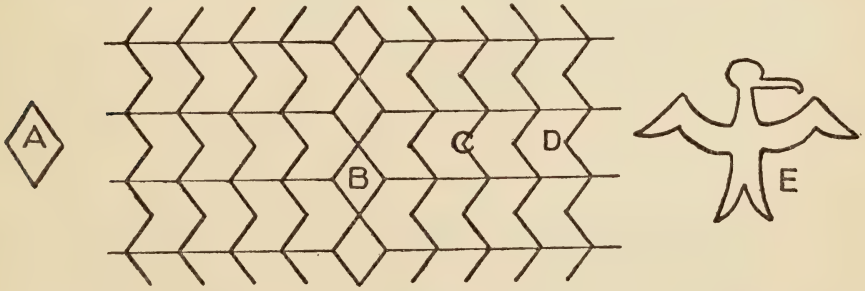
When he is three years old he is taken to the stream, and a pig and a bowl of pudding are taken at the same time to the stream and eaten there. Two or three years later they prepare for another feast for piercing his ears. When all the food is ready the people assemble, and the father pays someone to pierce the boy's ears on the day of the feast.

Another three years and they begin to think of another feast, the initiation into bonito fishing. They paddle out with him in a canoe, decorated with red grass streamers; and after they have caught bonito and initiated the boy they paddle ashore; but no one must land till some one from the shore has given the boy money. The people have prepared food for them, but they must eat it on the beach. This is the beginning of the boy's seclusion; he must not go again into the village and no woman must see him; only his mother and sister may bring him food, but they must never look upon his face; and he must put no hot food on a stone. If any woman sees him she must be his wife by and by. He stays there quite alone. However many bonito they catch they must eat them all on the shore, forty or fifty perhaps, and then they decide on the season for his coming out. As the gardens come to maturity everything is prepared, yams, betel, puddings

and two pigs, and they make a feast in the canoe-house, a sign to the people of the big feast later on. Later on they get everything ready for this big feast, yams, pigs, and so on, and the boy's relatives make sacrifice to the chief spirit *O'oa*. Then they make a platform, *Tahe ni Malaohu* (see p. 348). When the puddings are being got ready the feast-makers take betel nuts and go out to the villages, putting a nut for each guest in each village, and saying: "To-morrow the puddings will be ready, the next day the pigs will be killed and the day after will be the feast." On the night the pigs are killed they will sing songs all night till dawn and in the morning they will dance. When the dance is over the initiated boy will come and stand upon the platform, four bowls of pudding and three pigs will be put there, and his father or mother's brother will pay the man who initiated him. The boy will take the pigs and pudding to those who lived with him in his seclusion, and when all is ready for the feast a man will stand where the pigs are tied and make a speech to the people praising the initiated boy.

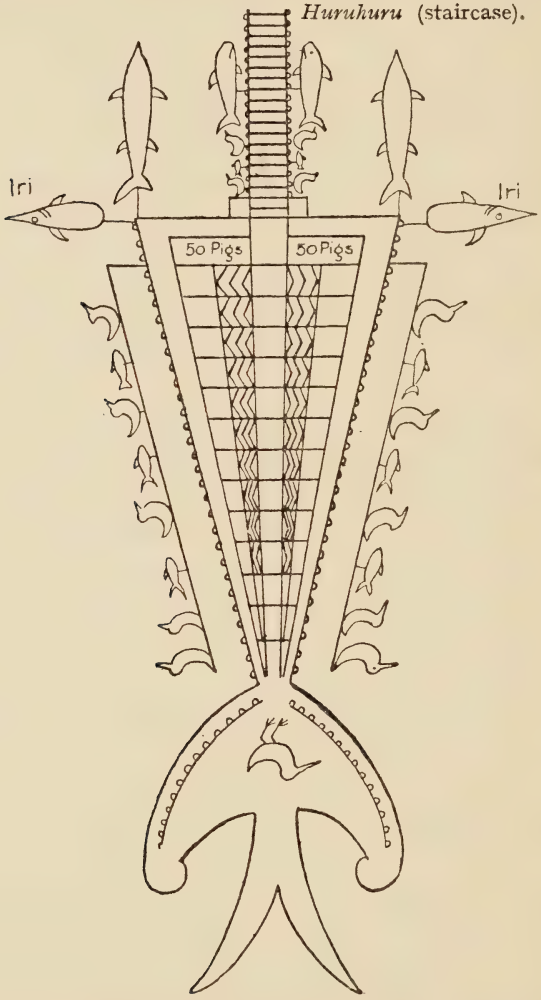
He then takes the four bowls and the three pigs to those who have attended him in the *malaohu*. These bowls are very large, some 12 feet, some even 24 feet long. The chief, his father, has provided them. He takes back two and comes again to the people and gives them the food. They feast, and all that night again they sing songs and dance again in the morning. Then the people go home taking the pigs, which they kill in their own villages, and make feasts there for the people of all the villages.

After that the relatives of the boy prepare another feast, planting special gardens for it, for two or three years, and then they make a



A. *Hoalite* fruit of *Alite* (*Catappa terminalis*) on centre of forehead.
B. *Talanihuato* (the four lozenges).
C. *Talamata* (the chevrons).
D. The space between the lines *Uwoniusu*. All these on cheeks.
E. *Manu* Frigate Hawk, on the temples.

big feast; this is for the cutting of the boy, *Ha'ausu*, when he is 12 years old. They make a feast and he is cut (*usu*), i.e. tattooed. A man who can do this is paid by the boy's father or grandfather. The cutting begins early in the morning and first of all the operator puts some *pulu akalo*, sacred gum, on the place, so that he will not feel any pain. They



Tahe Araha (Platform for *Maraufu* Initiation) (from a native drawing).

cut the following figures: (1) Hoalite, (2) Talanihwato, (3) Manu, (4) Uwoniusu, (5) Talamata; these are cut on both cheeks, the same on each. After the cutting coco-nut milk is rubbed in, and on the fourth day there is considerable swelling. He first washes his face and then cooks a *maratara* (?), and mixes it with coco-nut milk, crushing it fine.

He puts it on his face, and then after some time, last of all, the nose is pierced.

They now seek a wife for him, and when a girl is chosen some money is given so that she shall not marry anyone else. The girl's relatives come to get the money, and the boy's make them a feast, while they on their part bring a pig. On another day the girl's relatives bring pudding, and there is another feast. The *malauhu*, boy's wife, must also have her face cut.

The tail of the Bonito, so prominent in the drawing, is merely a small conventional prolongation of the apex in the actual platform. The ladder at the base of the triangular platform represents the Bonito's mouth, by which the boys enter. The carved figures along the sides are those of sharks, sword-fish, and frigate birds. The markings in the middle represent red, white, and black bands, the small knobs are shell decorations.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE CULTURAL HISTORY OF SAN CRISTOVAL

I PROPOSE in this chapter to set out what appear to me to be the general outlines of the cultural history of San Cristoval.

We have the following groups in the history of the island: the Kakamora, the Amwea, the Atawa, the Araha, the Abarihu, and the Bird Totem people. In the consideration of these groups it will be well to take the various problems that arise separately. A beginning can be made with the question of the relationship between totemism and the dual organization.[1]

It will, I think, be undisputed that what has been described in Arosi and Santa Anna is genuine totemism.[2] It has been said that the three main characters of totemism are: (1) The connexion of a species of animal or plant . . . with a definite social group of the community, and typically an exogamous group or clan; (2) A belief in a relationship between the members of the social group and the animal; a belief in descent from the animal . . . being a frequent form which this relationship takes; (3) Respect shown to the animal, the typical way of showing respect being that the animal may not be eaten.

Now in Arosi each of these characters is present: the totems are birds; the people think the clans are descended from them; the birds must not be killed by their clans, and sacrifices are made to them.

In Santa Anna the clans are also connected with totems, but these are aquatic animals, not birds; the people believe in descent from them; these animals must not be killed by their clans; and sacrifices are offered to the totems.

In both cases we have true totemism, but it is associated with a different social organization. For the two clans Atawa and Amwea,

[1] The concluding paragraphs of Chapter XIX (Beliefs about Animals), pp. 274 seq., should be read in this connexion.

[2] Of course quite different from the Australian totemism. Though both, perhaps, arose originally in ghost worship, their subsequent histories have been different, but the San Cristoval totemism is genuine and definite totemism of its kind.

Fig. 14. MEN OF SAN CRISTOVAL WITH BOAT

[face p. 350

though found with the bird totem clans in Arosi and with the aquatic totem clans in Santa Anna, have not the same characteristics, and cannot be called totem clans, unless they have been identified with other clans such as Araha in Arosi and Mwa in Santa Anna. Moreover, these two occur alone in the central part of the island without any totemistic characteristics.[1] Besides the pure totemism of the west end of the island and of Santa Anna, we have, I think, another more doubtful form of totemism in some of the clans found along the coast of the central part: the Shark clan, the Octopus clan, the Ray clan. If so, there are three distinct totemistic strata in San Cristoval, overlying a dual organization.

The totemism of Arosi must be connected with that of Bougainville and the Shortlands, in that the totems are birds, and also because it is associated with cremation. Cremation is also found in Guadalcanar. Bird totemism has not been described there, but one may be confident that it will be found there also. Bird clans occur in south-east Malaita.[2] Cremation is known in that region, and is recorded by Dr. Codrington.

The totemism of Santa Anna is typical totemism of its kind, especially as regards its two clans called Garohai (Turtle) and Agave (Crab). It seems to have been added to a dual organization, Atawa and Amwea, which existed there before the totem people reached Santa Anna.

The totemistic people of the Bauro coast are less advanced in their totemism than the bird totem people of Arosi, or the aquatic totem people of Santa Anna, and are apt to form sub-groups of Atawa and Amwea. But this undeveloped totemism (which is like that of Ulawa) is also found in Arosi, and I suppose it to underlie the bird totemism. I take as an example a group of people in Arosi who have a special cult of a ghost named Bwararíu. These are Amaeo people. So far as I know all of them are Amaeo, but they are only a small group, not nearly as large as all the Amaeo, or either subdivision of that clan. Bwararíu was a man of Malaita; he was killed in the harbour Tawaniahia in south-east Malaita; his blood mingled with the water of the sea, and he was transformed into a shark. His cult is practised

[1] But cf. note, p. 46.

[2] Bird clans in south-east Malaita are the Eagle, Hawk, Owl and Kingfisher; other clans are the Shark (Baewa), Ghost (Akalo); Apoloa, Ramo (Strong), Alaha (Great), but little is known of them. It is said that Shark-clan people were thrown into the sea, but Bird-clan people buried in trees.

in Malaita as well as in the western end of San Cristoval, and people who cross from one island to the other are forbidden to carry in their canoes a corpse or animal food or bananas, which have been forbidden by Bwarariu, but whether only to his own people or to others I am uncertain. Bwarariu, in his new incarnation, inhabits the sea near Cape Bwarariu at the west end of San Cristoval, so called because the currents and winds make the sea very rough (*bwara riu*) for canoes. So that though tradition says he was killed at Malaita, his name connects him with San Cristoval. He has several incarnations : the leaf of an *arite* tree on land ; and in the sea a mullet, a small fish like a sardine, a shark (the commonest) and a ray. I have seen him in the last form—the most splendid fish I think I have seen. As we passed the point he came rapidly to the boat, paused close alongside, and then went off like a silver streak in the sea. It is proper to make offerings of shell money and areca nut. But it was calm and the rowers laughed at the idea before we got round the headland. However, a bad cross-sea got up and I saw one of the natives quietly sacrifice my cold tea to Bwarariu. All sacrifice here, not only those of his own group. He can give a calm or withhold it, and besides sacrifices of food and money it is usual to give him some porpoise teeth. He is also useful for purposes of magic. The portion of food which a man has been eating is thrown to him, the man's name mentioned, and then Bwarariu destroys this man when he is fishing.

His followers, of whom Boo of Heuru (Amaeo) was one of the best known, were forbidden to eat white pigs and bananas. They must not go into a house where a child is born, though they may get food from such a house through a friend ; and a woman must not go near any of them at the time of her menstruation or give anything to any one of them at such times. The group sacrificed regularly to Bwarariu with burnt sacrifices. Further, the descent in this group is matrilineal, but who the first woman of the group was, or in what way she was connected with Bwarariu, I could not learn. Such a group is called *tai waipo* (*tai*, one ; *waipo*, navel).

Here, then, in the Amaeo clan we have a small group with matrilineal descent, who worship a man of former times who is now incarnate in a shark or other fish or the leaf of a tree. This group further has food restrictions, white pigs, and bananas. Bwarariu is said to be a man of Malaita, yet his present habitat is the sea at the west end of San Cristoval. I do not know whether Bwarariu belonged to one of the San Cristoval clans, but apparently he could not have

been Amaeo. The group would not kill a shark, ray, or other incarnation of Bwarariu. It appears to me that such a group might easily in the course of time develop into a totem clan. Probably it would be called the shark clan and would have the shark totem and other associated totems. I was surprised to find in this group matrilineal descent: I expected patrilineal; but I suppose it was people with similar totemistic ideas who were the first of the totemistic immigrants, and that they were earlier than the people who came with definite totem clans.

The dual organization, to which this totem clan organization was added, both in Santa Anna and on the Bauro coast and in Arosi, does not seem to show any real signs of totemism. Mr. Drew and I have described certain beliefs regarding association with animals and incarnation in animals after death which appear to us to furnish a possible foundation for a later totemism. But though these beliefs are prominent in Bauro, I am inclined to think they go with the imperfect form of totemism found on the Bauro coast, with the shark, ray, octopus, and other clans. Though we also noted association with birds, these birds were not the birds of the Arosi bird clans, except in one case (the *tehe*, hawk).

The dual people seem in San Cristoval to have quite clear traditions of the origin of the two moieties in two distinct races, the one original and the other immigrants, the latter very distinct physically and mentally from the former. These traditional differences are similar to those recorded elsewhere, in the New Hebrides, Banks Islands, and the islands north-west of the Solomons, but seem to be even more definite here, and to give considerable support to Dr. Rivers' conclusions regarding the dual people, which are adopted here. The relationship systems show a great difference between Bauro and Arosi, and the terms of the former show most traces of the anomalous marriages. The whole argument has gone to prove that this system is an older one than that of the bird totem people. It does not seem possible that the latter can be a modified form of the Bauro system or derived from it. Some of the older Bauro terms have been retained: *gare, asi, waiha, aharo, ina, ama, hungo, wai*, or were already in the Arosi system: others are new terms, *doora, mwarii, uwai, wae, haho, mau, kikii*; *areha* is used differently. There is, therefore, probably a considerable interval to be allowed for between the settlement of the Bauro people and the coming of the bird totem people. But in this interval should be placed the arrival of the totem people of Santa

Anna, since their relationship system is intermediate. The coast of the dual region shows traces of a totemistic people less advanced in their totemism than those of Arosi or Santa Anna—with totemistic ideas rather than true totemism—making sub-clans of the Atàwa and Amwea rather than separate and equal clans. So these people must be put between the Santa Anna and Arosi bird totem people, but later than the dual people.

It seems that the first inhabitants of whom we have any trace are the Kakamora or Pwamora,[1] whom Mr. Drew and I have described as the fairies. The word *mora* means native or original. When the Amwea came to San Cristoval they perhaps found these people in possession and drove them back to the hills. They seem to have been a people of very small stature, with straight hair, wandering from place to place in groups, without houses, gardens, or even a knowledge of fire and cooking, and living in caves.

Then came the Amwea (see p. 34). What this word means I cannot say, for the derivation from *Mwaa*, a snake, seems doubtful. They seem to have been people physically like the modern Papuans, short, dark, vigorous, fond of fighting, split up into hostile villages. At present it seems impossible to disentangle their religious ideas and material culture from those of the other moiety of the dual people who followed them, the Atawa. They did not speak Austronesian languages, if, as I hope to show later, there are non-Austronesian elements in the dual language.

May the Amwea not be the portion of the original inhabitants whom the Atawa were able to civilize and fuse with, while the rest remained uncivilized, the Kakamora of the present day ?

During this year (1920) the village people say the Kakamora are again appearing on the outskirts of the villages as they used to do in the old times, up to the time of the introduction of firearms sixty years ago. The Government newly settled in San Cristoval has called in all the guns, and within two or three months of that I began to hear of Kakamora being seen in many places. Many have told me that they have seen one, people who should be quite trustworthy witnesses ; and who say they have seen them at close quarters. While I was at Heuru lately a man saw one in the stream there catching and eating raw fish, but the Kakamora had disappeared before we got there, the only evidence of his having been there being the pieces of half-chewed

[1] A word which in Arosi has become *Pwaronga*.

raw fish and some ill-defined small footprints, which the people declared not to be those of anyone living at Heuru (and they are experts in the matter of footprints, always recognizing the footprints of those whom they know). Still later a man of Heuru saw a Kakamora, who stared at him, called out Ee ! and bending low, ran away through the undergrowth too fast to be caught.

They are described as very small dark-skinned people, about 4 ft. 6 in. to 5 ft. in height, with very long, straight hair coming down to their shoulders or below them, very timid, bending low when they run. They are believed to live in the deep limestone clefts which abound in the country. They are also said to be now stealing from the gardens as they used to do in the old days before the advent of fire-arms. There is so much independent testimony to their being seen, and the people are so hopeful of catching one and taking him to the Government, who will buy a specimen, they believe, for £20, that I cannot help thinking these are no mythic people or creatures of the imagination, but a real uncivilized race. A good deal has been written of them in Chapter XI. Anyone who knows the large uninhabited forest-covered tracts of country in the interior of these islands (which look so small on the map) will agree that the existence of such a people is by no means an impossibility.

When the Atawa arrived, imposing their civilization and government on the original population, they would not civilize, perhaps, the whole people they found. Two moieties would arise, the Atawa strangers and those of the aboriginals who settled with them and intermarried—the Amwea. The word *kakamora* or *pwapwamora* seems to mean the " original fools " (*pwa* is a prefix in several words giving this sense of foolish—*pwa-here* to work clumsily, *here* to work, etc.) and may be allied to the Mota *qaqae*, a fool ; and Dr. Rivers records a belief in the Banks Islands in a race of fools, the *qaqae*. Those of the original stupid aboriginals (for so the Atawa would view them) who accepted their beliefs and society the Atawa would call by a special name, Amwea, whatever that may mean ; just as now there is a sharp distinction drawn between the English, the native Christians, and the heathen (the *Mwanehaka, mwane school, mwane ahurodo*). The final dual people would be the blend of the original civilized Kakamora, called Amwea, with the Atawa. In some charms the Atawa are called Watawa and the Amwea the Wamwea, so that *tawa* and *mwea* are the roots of the words, with the personal prefix added. *Tawa* means foreigners in such phrases as *ha'atawa* " treat a man as a stranger " ;

the meaning of *mwea* is much more doubtful. This derivation of the Amwea from the Kakamora is offered only as a diffident suggestion.

Then came the Atawa, a people very different; and they came probably after a very long interval of time. (These should correspond with Dr. Rivers's " Proto-Polynesians ".) They were fair and tall, and had a much higher culture than the Amwea. These people probably introduced the round house, once general in San Cristoval, unless this was the form of house still earlier; and certainly it was they who brought the first Austronesian language, which they imposed on the Amwea, probably in all parts of the island. It is not possible on the strength of our present knowledge of San Cristoval to be sure which ideas and crafts were Atawa and which Amwea. But at all events they were agricultural people, and perhaps brought taro to San Cristoval, since this is the chief food of the bush people and not prominent on the coast. Probably they brought many other plants and trees, possibly coco-nuts, at any rate, some varieties. It is probable that other elements of San Cristoval culture can be assigned to them, and this problem will be tackled when the succeeding wave of immigrants, the Abarihu, have been examined.

After the coming of the Atawa a considerable period must have elapsed to allow for the fusing of Atawa and Amwea, and the formation of the peculiar dual society. Besides, when the next Austronesian-speaking people arrived, they were people of a very different culture, though not with a very different language so far as one can judge.

These people may be called in San Cristoval the Abarihu (" the people who followed the coast "), since it is they of whom there is a definite tradition that they swarmed along the beaches and up the river valleys, forming settlements and naming them by the names they still bear. They were Austronesian-speaking people, and similar to the Atawa, but they brought new ideas. They seem to have settled all along the coast, to have overrun, completely, Santa Anna, and to have come in successive waves at fairly short intervals. The first were the people now best represented along the Bauro coasts, though there are many traces of their ideas in Arosi. They believed in transmigration into animals after death, and even during life, but they were not yet divided into totem clans like the later waves which followed them—they had totemistic ideas but were not totem people—they were like the Waipo group of Arosi. They worshipped the dead and carefully preserved the bones (and especially the head). It was such people who formed the

suqe in the Banks Islands; and the contemporaries of the *suqe*-founders settled in Santa Anna, probably not quite the first of the totemistic people, but a slightly later immigration of them. The first to come established shark worship, and were associated after death with aquatic animals or birds. The cult of shark and ray (and frigate-bird probably) in Arosi belongs to this first invasion. They introduced their culture firmly in Ulawa and Ugi. They exposed their dead in canoes and bowls, and probably it was they (one of their immigrations) who built the truncated pyramidal mounds (*heo*) of the *hera* or burial places, on the top of which they preserved their dead till the bones could be collected and deposited in a stone box (*hau suru*) or in caves. Some of these people practised a kind of embalming, placing the body so treated in a canoe. They probably introduced the long house and the double house.

It is impossible to say at present from the San Cristoval evidence to which influence many parts of San Cristoval culture belong, and I may give one example. There is some evidence of a cult of the moon and stars, and perhaps of the sun also; but it is hard to decide to whom it belongs.[1] There are a few myths: it is said of the sun and moon that they kept crossing a great bridge in the sky, the moon fleeing from the sun, till finally the moon fell into the sea, and has since given but a cold light and is the shadow of her former self. A woman plaiting mats is said to sit in the moon. There is a children's song in Bauro which they sing at night, when towards morning they wake with the cold and lie shivering waiting for the day. The words are as follows:—

> Enlighten, enlighten, brother and sister-in-law,
> Bring hither the light of day,
> The splendid light, the shining light.

This is a song to the sun and moon; it is in the Bauro language, the language of the dual people, but it is on the coast that I have heard it. It calls the sun the sister-in-law of the moon, the explanation being that the moon (*warowaro*)[2] is married to the stars (*marama*), who are the *kasi*, younger sisters, of the sun (*arito*). The use of *ifa*, properly a dual

[1] "The only item pointing to anything like a system of star worship" among the Maories was found by Mr. Elsdon Best in connexion with agriculture. *Transactions New Zealand Institute*, xlii, p. 448.

[2] The moon, in the Bauro peninsula itself, and in other parts of the Bauro district, is called *hagaiha* (Rafurafu *fageifa*). *Haga* is the causative prefix in Bauro; so apparently the moon is called by a relationship term, *iha!* The song explains, perhaps, this very unusual word for moon; which might otherwise have been set down as "Papuan."

people relationship term (as the use of the masculine form *waiha* for feminine relatives in Arosi shows), excludes the Arosi totem people, though not perhaps the Abarihu. Moreover, children's songs are generally very old, so that this may be a song of the Atawa, but it is uncertain.

Another way in which we may approach the question is by considering the use of tattoo and sacred emblems. Probably if Christianity were now to disappear in San Cristoval the sacred emblem of the cross would be found when all else was lost or almost lost in the outward culture. So we find a large use in San Cristoval of emblems which probably represent the moon and perhaps the sun. There is a mother-of-pearl crescent ornament which is called *tahi warowaro*, *warowaro* being a Bauro word for moon. There is also a large round shell disk worn on the forehead, which is called in Arosi *matesina* " the face of the sun ". This is made of the giant clam. Another made of the shell *dahi* is called *hura*, the moon. A similar disk in Santa Cruz, worn on the breast and made of the giant clam, is called *tema*, the moon.[1] Then there are tattoo marks. These are often the evening clouds of sunset, but the sunset clouds do not seem to be commoner in Bauro than in Arosi. The other most common tattoo mark is that of a star, of which there are two forms, or either one or two circles with rays. It is important to notice that these do not represent the sun, but stars: but, again, it can hardly be said they are commoner in one part than another. The figure is tattooed on Araha men—but cut, not punched—and represents the sun. There are certain tattoo marks which go definitely with the dual people, especially the *arite* tree, but the marks connected with stars do not seem to do so. Another line of inquiry brings us to the small shell disks now used as money. This is perhaps a secondary use, as the disks are also used for belts. The fine white variety are used for belts, and the coarser white and red varieties are used for armlets and anklets at feasts. These disks are also used in Santa Cruz for belts, but not for money. They seem to have a sacred character, for they were much used in sacrifices, and were used in ancient times in sacrifices to *adaro*. Similar disks in Florida are called *rongo*, which may be the same word as the Mota word *rongo*,

[1] In San Cristoval tortoise-shell figures of frigate-bird and seagull are fixed to the *matesina*, and these must be associated with the Abarihu.

sacred. There are four kinds used in Arosi and five kinds in Bauro. The large red disks are called *tao* in Bauro, *dao* in Arosi; the small fine white ones used in belts are called *ngisi* (the white of the coco-nut) in both places. But in Bauro the finest red disks are called *gapu na arito*, i.e. the blood of the sun, and strange to say the white money of Arosi is called *bunarito*, a word whose meaning is not known there. Evidently the disks belong rather to Bauro than to Arosi, for it seems a misuse of terms to call white money sun-blood; and, besides, the word has lost its meaning in Arosi. The large white disks are merely called *ha'a mahui*, white *ha'a*, in Arosi; but in Bauro *hura toto*, i.e. full moon. *Hura*, however, is not a word used now for moon in Bauro, though it is so used in Arosi. On the whole, these disks, which seem to be originally connected with a cult of the sun and moon, belong rather to Bauro than to Arosi. Their use as money in the *suqe* of the Banks Islands may have been quite secondary. They may have been a sacred ornament of the dual people, and adopted in the *suqe* as money, and if so, the dual people or the Atawa, who had a cult of sacred trees and serpent worship, may have had a cult of the moon and stars and sun. But the San Cristoval evidence, if very scanty, seems slightly in favour of the hypothesis that this cult belongs to the Abarihu; or that the sun cult belongs to them, and that of the moon and stars to the dual people.

It appears that the Abarihu had the custom of prefixing *Sau* to the name of those who showed especial prowess in certain directions.[1] In San Cristoval, those who were connected with ghost sharks, and who were also leaders in war, prefixed *Sau* to their names; and the same prefix was commonly used in Ulawa with the names of the ghost sharks themselves, who became the gods of war and fighting. If Dr. Rivers is right in thinking that these people became the chiefs in Polynesia, it accords well with the fact that *Hau* is a word used in Polynesia in connexion with the high chiefs. Fornander writes: "I am inclined to think that the oldest Hawaian designation of the highest rank of chiefs was *Hau*, which word merits us with nearly the same meaning in the Samoan and Fijian *Sau*, the Tongan and Tahitian *Hau*, the Rarotongan and Mangarevan *Au*, and the New Zealand *whakahau*."[2] The name of the Arosi *adaro*, Hatuibwari, is worth noting, but a snake *figona* was also called Kahausibwari.

[1] See p. 237.

[2] *The Polynesian Race*, i, 67; cf. the Maori *hau*, famous: Williams, *Maori Dictionary*.

What elements of the population of San Cristoval represent the immigration of the Abarihu ? In Arosi there are three clans which have much in common, the Araha, Mwara, and Amaeo. They expose their dead and preserve the skull, they have legends of men and animals turning into stone, they believe in great serpent spirits, and have similar tales of origin. If Araha specially worship the winged serpent, Mwara and Amao also pray to it ; if Araha have a special connexion with the sun and creation of myths, Mwara have a legend of the flood and of an ancestor who caught the sun in a noose and lengthened the day ; and it was the Mwara dead by the flood who were turned into ranks of stone pillars. Each of these clans claims to be the oldest from which the other two came, though Mwara tradition says they came from a land a long distance to the west, while Araha tradition makes them come from the east (it will be remembered that Araha near Haununu are buried facing east). These three clans hold land not in common but alongside one another ; where there is Araha land there is generally both Mwara and Amaeo land alongside, especially Mwara. These three clans are not named from totem birds as most of the others are (except Atawa and Amwea). The Bora clan has the Waibora pigeon, the Aoba clan has the Koapwa bird, the Bwao clan has the Pwao bird, the Kahuko clan has the Kahuko owl as their totem. But Araha, Mwara, and Amaeo, though connected with birds or animals (Araha with the hawk and fantail, Mwara with the hawk and kingfisher, Amaeo with the crab called the "Teeth of Amaeo"), have not totem names. There is one great difference it is true, the Araha have patrilineal descent and the others matrilineal, and, indeed, the Araha differ in a number of ways ; yet the Mwara and Amaeo clans are similar people, apparently. These, then, are the people called Abarihu in an earlier chapter, Araha being one party of them, Mwara and Amaeo two other parties. The Adaro and Uraua clans must be added, though they are small and unimportant. The people of the Shark, Ray, and Octopus clans in Bauro also belong to the Abarihu.

We now approach a difficult problem, that of the relationship between the Atawa and the Araha. In an earlier chapter (see p. 274) the *figona* serpent cult was ascribed to the Atawa ; but it is clear, for the following reasons, that it really belongs to Araha.

The serpent cult was ascribed to Atawa because it was associated with *figona*. And, moreover, by not allowing enough for the influence of the later bird-totem people on Arosi, Bauro was considered too much as a purely dual region, and the influence there of Abarihu was not

sufficiently recognized, so that what were distinctively Bauro beliefs were put down as those of the dual people, whereas they might equally be Abarihu.

But though the serpent cult is so characteristic of Bauro as opposed to Arosi, it is now clearly seen to be Araha, for the chief serpent deity is Hatuibwari. He is the chief Araha deity and connected with the sky. Stones, thunder, and lightning are associated with these serpent spirits. Moreover, Hatuibwari is a Winged Serpent, so unusual a conception as evidently to connect a belief in him with the Araha, if they are the " stone-using " people. And they evidently are so ; for it is impossible to think that the association of embalming, pyramidal stone burial mounds, the " double " going into a stone statue, veneration for the conch and the cowry, ear-piercing, sun-worship, the sacred hawk, and the rest can be accidental when we find the same beliefs associated so remarkably elsewhere. The Winged Serpent, then, must be Araha, and the serpent cult Araha.

Can Araha, then, be the same as Atawa, one moiety of the dual people, and distinct from the Abarihu ? Against this there is the strong evidence of the burial customs, for the dual people, Atawa and Amwea, interred their dead, sitting and bound, round sacred trees, and the Araha preserved their dead by embalming, extended burial on a *heo*, and so on. Moreover, in the Ho'asia, though the Araha and Maroa (probably Mwara) go together to the east, the Atawa and Amwea go off in the opposite direction. Also Atawa and Araha are distinct clans in Haununu and elsewhere. I think, therefore, that Araha cannot be identified with Atawa. This is confirmed elsewhere, for the Araha are surely the Suqe people of the Banks Islands, and Dr. Rivers shows these to be later than the dual people there. Araha cannot be one moiety of the dual people.

The Araha beliefs run so much into one another, and are so woven together, that it will be best to consider them first, and then see what is left to the earlier Atawa on the one hand, and the later Bird Totem people on the other.[1]

The Araha believed in a great Winged Serpent with the face of a man ; and though Hatuibwari, this Winged Serpent, is male in Arosi, the female form of the name Kahausipwari in Bauro is no doubt the older, and gives the real conception of the serpent. For in Arosi, though male, he is represented with female breasts, and " gives suck

[1] See Chapter XIX.

to all created things ". They further believe that there are other great female serpent spirits, Hatuibwari's daughters, and from these men took their origin. Some of the Abarihu ascribe the origin of men to a female turtle spirit. In either case the first man and woman are represented as brother and sister, and mankind springs from an incestuous union.

They have further tales of the creation of man from red clay, of the coming of death, of a great flood, and of an attempt to build up to the sky.

They hold a curious belief as to the nature of man, as having two souls; a " double " which is the shadow and which after death passes into a stone statue, a stone, or an animal, and remains on earth; and a spiritual part which after death takes a long journey to an island of the blessed, where, by bathing in a river of living water, it becomes immortal and divine.

And here a word should be said of the position of this isle of the blessed. The ghost goes first to Three Sisters, then to Marau Sound, and the ghosts of the Haununu dead follow the same course, first crossing the island and then leaping into the sea at Nagini Point near Pamua, instead of going to Marau Sound by the much shorter way along the south coast. This, I think, must be simply retracing the path by which their ancestors came. This immigrant people would naturally settle first on these small islands before they could get a footing on the main mass of the large island, first at Marau Sound and then at Three Sisters, and then to the north coast, *following the rivers*, as their own traditions, say, to Haununu; and the dead retrace these steps. These islands are traditionally the home of all the greatest heroes of story, Rapuanate and the rest. They were no doubt the first settlements of the Araha.

The Araha are the stone-using people, the builders of the stone pyramidal mounds (tombs), of the stone statues, stone carvings, stone edging of graves, stone seats, stone altars, stone walls, and river dykes.

They have traditions of heroes who fished up islands from the sea, and who caught the sun in a noose to lengthen the day.

They have close association with animals, with the bonito, into which fully initiated boys enter; with the shark, with whom they exchange souls; with the turtle, the octopus; and above all with the hawk, their battle-leader and war god, who has a soul like men.

They have great belief in the life-giving power of water. They use the conch trumpet, which they associate with a change in life, blowing

it at death and at the end of boys' initiation. They make great use of the cowry. They show many traces of sun-worship, wearing emblems of sun (and moon), and believe in sun-children and sun-wives. They practise piercing of the ears and attach a religious value to it, as it is necessary for entrance into the abode of souls. They possess the institution of taboo; they have mysterious dances for the dead.

Only *araha* can wear the *matesina*, "face of the sun."[1] The sun tattoo, the frigate-bird tattoo, and the *bwari* belong specially to them. What the *bwari* represents I am a little doubtful, but I think it is the web of a variety of *bwari* called *bwari nunu*, which, unlike the ordinary *bwari*, makes a web, which it agitates violently when disturbed; hence its name. The heads of Arosi babies are shaved to leave a lozenge of hair called *bwari*. At Kahua (Toroa) I have seen a different tattoo called *pwari*, which is said to be plaited on bags, but the meaning of the design is not known there.

They preserve their dead, paying especial value to the skull. A special sanctity attaches to the head in a living man. Children may even be born in the head of a woman.

Karaoa, a kind of embalming, is used in their case, and is associated with burial in a canoe called *ahaaha*.[2] The viscera are removed and replaced by certain vegetable preparations. Shavings of the tree called *oa* are prepared; the body of the dead *ahara* is washed twice, first just after death and secondly before being put into the canoe; the *oa* shavings are wrung out over the canoe, and are then placed in it, forming a bed for the body; over and surrounding the body more *oa* shavings wrung out are packed; and in this way it is preserved for some time, allowing relatives from a distance to come and view it. They paint the corpse, and the stone statue into which the ghost goes. I have not seen this, but have written down a native's description.

They introduced the long house in place of the earlier round house. They introduced money, at least, the shell disks now used as money, since this is sun-blood and the full moon. And they set great store by the pearl shell and mother-of-pearl. The word for pearl, *dahi*, also means to be lucky, as its cognate (*lai*) does in Mota.

[1] The *matesina* usually has fastened to it tortoise-shell ornaments representing the frigate-bird or seagull (*gaura* or *maahe*), the latter of which appears on the bowl in which sacrifices are offered for warriors, and of which a figure has been given.

[2] *Ahaaha* means "high, lofty" (sometimes "the sky"), probably because these canoes were elevated on high poles or trestles (see p. 211).

These are the beliefs and practices which the evidence shows must be associated with the Araha and the Abarihu generally, though more especially with the former. Other customs, such as the couvade, massage, bleeding for illnesses, the evidence does not seem to connect specially with Araha, though they are San Cristoval customs. But the linking together of all these other beliefs and customs in a way so similar to their linking together elsewhere as described by Professor Elliot Smith, makes very strongly for the assumption that the people who hold these beliefs and practise these customs must be identified with the people of the archaic civilization of Indonesia and elsewhere.[1] There is, however, no trace of circumcision, the swastika, terraced cultivation, and some other things which Professor Elliot Smith elsewhere identifies with them.[2]

Accepting, then, the view that these are the seafaring people of the archaic civilization, who set out eastwards before cremation had reached the coast of India, and that their civilization is mainly Egyptian, with accretions from other places, we conclude that when they reached San Cristoval they found a dual people, the Atawa and Amwea. What belonged to the culture of this dual people? There are some beliefs and customs which are evidently very ancient in San Cristoval, but which have not been included in the summary just made of Araha beliefs and customs. These are a cult of trees, human sacrifices to increase the crops, interment in a sitting position of the dead, a belief in an underground land of the dead, the building of round houses, and the use of the wooden gong. Of these the interment of the dead in a sitting position, the belief in an underground world, and the round house, seem to belong to the dual people, for they are not Araha. They are older than Araha, as is shown by the way in which they have been modified by Araha belief. For example, the dead are *exposed* sitting round the sacred tree, and the long house has a round end.

But with regard to the sacred trees, the human sacrifices, the wooden gong, are these Atawa or Araha?

With regard to the gong, it is characteristic of Bauro, not Arosi, but that may only mean it is not a Bird Totem people instrument; and it is prominent at Haununu where Araha influence is evidently very strong. There are also stories of stone gongs and of gongs being

[1] And the San Cristoval use of *ari'i* compared with the Polynesian use of it, helps to identify them with the chiefs of Polynesia.

[2] See Elliot Smith, *Migrations of Early Culture*, Manchester, 1915; Perry, *The Children of the Sun*, 1923.

turned into stone, so that I think the evidence is in favour of adding the gong to Araha customs.

When we turn to the question of the cult of trees it is more difficult to decide.[1] We are, however, on sure ground in assigning to the dual people, at least, a portion of the tree cult, for they buried their dead round a sacred tree and the Araha did not. Moreover, the use of these sacred burial trees for making the bowls in which the Araha preserve their dead, the ridge poles of the Araha long house, and the carved fish for burial coffins, looks rather as if the Araha had taken this cult of trees from the dual people who buried their dead round them. Moreover, the trees are used to drive away *adaro* from the houses, and to drive away an *adaro here*. It would fall in naturally with the idea that the cult of trees was Atawa, if the older sacred things were used as magic by the later people. The Atawa, too, if they have a totem at all, have the pale coco-nut as their totem; and there is a Bauro story that they are descended from a woman connected with an *'ahi'a* tree. On this view the Ho'asia is a combination of Atawa and Araha rites, the sacred tree being Atawa and also the banyan-tree, from which Hatuibwari speaks; while Hatuibwari, and the stone, probably, are Araha. The dracaena twigs of the same rite and the making of the round house are Atawa also, while the making of the model long house is Araha. The dracaena and amaranthus always drive off and overcome with their magic the *mena* of *adaro*, even *adaro* spirits as well as ghosts, i.e. powerful beings connected with the Araha. Just as the heathen of the present day waves his *ta'ahere* magic at the white man to overcome the latter's *mena*, so may the dual people have used their sacred plants against the invading Abarihu.

On the other hand, the dracaena is a sacred plant with Polynesians; and there used in the temples of the chiefs, as here on the tombs of the chiefs. But it may there also have been taken from the Atawa, if the common people of the Polynesians are similar to the Atawa. The Maranuri grove is connected with Hatuibwari. On the other hand, the *maniato* stock of the garden, with its human sacrifices, to which almost a human soul seems to be assigned, is quite unlike anything else connected with Araha, with whom sacred stones or carved posts are sacred because they have *adaro* in them, not because they have any personality of their own. And the same may be said of the *'airasi* addressed as a woman and decked as a man! as though two peoples had combined different ideas in one custom.

[1] See Chapter XX.

The dracaena, though used to drive off *adaro*, is yet in many ways closely connected with Araha. It is used in stories to bring the dead to life, as in the tale of Taraematawa. But his name means " a dead stranger ", so that this may be only Atawa magic for use on Araha immigrants. It is also used to fish for *adaro* after death ; and Sautabai'aoo uses it to fish for bonito. It is used in connexion with Binauhi to decide about war and to protect in fighting. It is always planted (with the croton) on Araha burial grounds (and also on bird totem cremation grounds). But there seems nothing in all this inconsistent with the view that it was a sacred Atawa plant, used as magic by the later Araha. Or it may belong to both peoples.

The guardian snakes of the Atawa groups seem to connect them clearly with a cult of sacred snakes ; and this seems to be confirmed by the fact that in Santa Anna the clan is called Mwaa (snake) as well as Atawa. If this is accepted it makes it more probable that Amwea means snake also, for I suggest that the Amwea are those of the Kakamora whom the Atawa were able to civilize, with whom they intermarried to form the dual people (there are many stories of adoption of, and marriage with, Kakamora), and to whom they imparted their own beliefs. Just as at the present day the white men do not call themselves " the Christians " but keep that name for those of the Melanesians who adopt their beliefs, while they themselves are the *haka* (the foreigners) ; so the Atawa may have called the Kakamora, who adopted the belief in sacred snakes, the Wamwea (Amwea in its full form) " the snakes ", while they themselves remained the Atawa (the strangers). (The influence of *w*, as of *u*, is to change *a* into *e*, at least in old words ; cf. the Arosi *bwaa* taro, which in the Banks Islands is *qeta* (a long *a* in Arosi generally shows the dropping of a *t*).)

Another interesting point about the cult of these sacred snakes by Atawa groups is that the dead were buried round them, instead of round the sacred tree as elsewhere, though the snakes were always associated with the sacred tree, probably as guardian spirits or incarnations of the tree spirit, possibly as incarnations of the dead. In Bauro there are stories of a great underground world, where there are great snakes. But this burying in circles seems to be characteristic of Atawa, whether the object in the centre is a tree or a snake mound or an Araha chief's tomb. The round dancing ground and the dance in which the people move round the circle with two of their number in the centre are only found in the Bauro dual region. In the dance round the sacred tree *'Airasi*, the people first go round the circle of coco-nuts

surrounding the tree, and then go off and perform what seems like a characteristic Araha dance. The round houses we also associate with Atawa. Thus we have burial in circles round trees, circles round snake mounds, a circle of coco-nuts round a sacred tree, a circle for a dance, and a circular house, all Atawa. May we infer that the stone circles are Atawa, also ? At all events we must be on our guard against assuming that everything stone or connected with sacred stones is therefore Araha. It is so easy to speak of the megalithic or stone-using people and then put down everything connected with stones to them. And in the same way, although sacred trees are certainly connected with Atawa by the burial customs of the dual people, it does not follow that *all* sacred trees are to be connected with Atawa rather than with Araha, and we must be on our guard against any such assumption. The Atawa trees are addressed as women, perhaps as containing female spirits ; and *hi'ona* are always feminine, except the Araha Agunua. To decide this question more knowledge is needed than I possess of the Atawa and the people of the archaic civilization elsewhere. In Indonesia Mr. Perry mentions no cult of trees as associated with Araha ; nor does Professor Elliot Smith refer to this as a prominent feature of their varied collection of beliefs.[1] Even if they had a cult of trees it may not have been an important part of their beliefs. If so the cult of trees in San Cristoval will go with the Atawa, and when we find it associated with Araha rites we may generally conclude that they have incorporated it from the older beliefs they found. So they would teach the dual people to expose their dead, but it might be round the trees, or on tree platforms, or among the roots, or in the hollow trunk, or in bowls and carved fish made from the sacred trees. The magic powers of the sacred trees would be used against the newcomers, and, by and by, by themselves too. They would associate their serpent god with the banyan and the sacred groves, and they would still sacrifice the first-fruits by the sacred tree, but to Hatuibwari, and they would plant the sacred trees on their own burial places, and sometimes hang their offerings on the branches.

The Atawa have already been described as the immigrant people who formed the dual society by fusing with the earlier Amwea, and according to these native traditions they are contrasted with the Amwea as fair, clever, talkative, superior in power, more united among themselves but keeping to themselves. To this we now add that they

[1] Elliot Smith, *The Migrations of Early Culture*, Manchester, 1915: Perry, *The Megalithic Culture of Indonesia*, Manchester, 1918.

interred their dead in a sitting position, that they had a cult of trees and human sacrifices in the gardens to increase the crops, lived in round houses, believed in an underground world of the dead, and treated snakes as sacred animals, that they must have come to San Cristoval before 1000 B.C., since they preceded the Araha, and must have preceded them by a considerable interval of time, to allow the formation of a dual society by their fusion with the earlier Amwea. If they also believed in sacred serpents and called them *hi'ona*, it is easy to understand how their beliefs would mingle with those of the later Araha with their winged serpent god. Did the Atawa come from western India before Egyptian influences had reached, to any large extent, those shores ?

This leaves four or five clans with bird totems, who take their clan name from their totem. These are the people, I suppose, who introduced a developed form of totemism with sacrifice to the clan totem (this was practised at any rate by the Owl and Pwao clans). It is they who must have introduced cremation, since it is not found beyond where they have settled, and bird totemism and cremation are elsewhere associated. Whether they latterly practised it more than other clans it seems impossible to learn. They have evidently greatly altered the language and introduced many new terms. They appear to be the latest immigrant people of whom we have any clear idea, before our own advent. Their appearance in Bougainville and the Shortlands seems to show them coming from the west, their practice of cremation shows them later than the Araha, who came from India apparently before cremation had reached their home. The influence of the bird clan people with their definite clans and totemism seems to have been to make the clans more definite groups than before, to emphasize the respect for birds, and change them into totems of groups of people ; in short, to crystallize the animal relationships into normal totemism. They seem to have had a civilization inferior to the Araha. Their coming has tended to obliterate especially the belief in the great serpent spirits, and to cause the Araha traditions to be largely lost. Araha traditions could probably be much more clearly learnt in Bauro than in Arosi, where it seems as if some later influence had come in, clouding the older stories and beliefs, especially as regards the serpent. And probably Santa Anna and Santa Catalina might prove the best places in all Melanesia for recovering the archaic civilization, though in a year or two it will be too late.

" Too late " might well be the note on which to end this book.

To get much of the most valuable parts of it, it was almost too late. It is not likely that a boy of these islands will ever again go through the Maraufu, or mount again through the mouth of his blood brother the bonito. The Ho'asia has probably been celebrated for the last time, and the Higona will never answer again the prayers of her people from the banyan on the hill. Not again will the 'Airasi be brought and set up in the sacred circle and decked with the insignia of a chief. No one will ever be buried again on the *heo* top, or carried pick-a-back to living water, or perish in the flames of the fire on the *hera*. The people are all accepting schools, and the teaching of many of those schools whether wisely or not, bids them destroy their old monuments, forsake their old customs, and forget their old beliefs. And it is a question whether the race will even live long in its new state ; their sun seems at last to be setting, after a history as strange and proud as that of any race, at any rate, in the case of the seafaring people we call the Araha ; the *aunga* are passing away to Maraba, to their final home under the shadow of Bwari, and the wings of the Lord of the Summit. A new seafaring race, as keen as they ever were, in the search for " pearls and gold ", has come to take their place.

One group of people has been passed over until now—the Masi, many tales of whom were given in an earlier chapter. The word means stupid, and all the tales confirm this meaning. The Masi are the buffoons of San Cristoval tales, the stories of them always raise a laugh, they did everything in the wrong way, imagined everything to be what it was not, ascribed personality to every object, and ran away when there was nothing to run from. In this respect they rather resemble the Kakamora. They are also believed to have been employed in large numbers on great works, especially those of building or carving in stone, which connects them with the Araha, although no one would think of calling them Araha. Sometimes in this, too, they rather resemble the Kakamora, and people are not quite sure whether it was the Masi or the Kakamora who built the stone tower which was to reach to heaven, or fashioned the stone gongs. They were so stupid, yet their descendants are the skilled artisans, the canoe builders, the inlayers, the craftsmen, of later times. One of their descendants in South Malaita Houalaha, seems, from his name, even to have some connexion with the chiefs. Their original home is said to be Ugi, which is called in full Uki-ni-Masi, and here the sites of their former villages are shown. Dr. Ivens heard traditions that they were a small race, but that may have been due to confusion with the Kakamora. The chief colony of

Masi at Ugi was near Makia at a place called Rere-ni-Masi ; there they built houses like modern Ugi houses—long houses—and did the usual things that the Masi always did, stayed at home in a calm and put to sea in a storm, thought a canoe sank when it passed over the horizon, thought some one had speared them if they struck a sharp pole, and killed each other off in senseless quarrels. What is needed is some origin which will connect and explain these varied ideas about them.

The most probable seems to be that they were the Ugi contemporaries of the Kakamora. It has been shown that there is good reason for thinking the Araha first settled on the small islands, first at Marau Sound and then Three Sisters, before invading the large islands. The same reasoning would lead us to suppose that Ugi came early into their power, lying as it does near Three Sisters and 10 miles from the mainland. If it had somehow been passed over by the Atawa, the only people on it would be the small stupid aboriginals, and when the Araha settled here—the Rapuanate stories show it as one of their chief seats, if not the main one—they would be very likely to enslave the whole of this aboriginal population, who could not escape into the fastnesses of the interior as on the mainland. It seems to have been the custom of the Araha to employ large bodies of the original inhabitants of the places they conquered to work for them (like the English of the present day), and they would settle these conquered people in colonies and set them to work on their stone building enterprises, their canoes, and generally make useful workmen of them. In this way we account naturally for the legend of their stupidity, for their employment in large numbers on stone work, for their connexion with Araha, and for the fact of their descendants being canoe-builders and carvers ; as well as for the widespread use of one name for them all. It is therefore suggested that the Masi were the slaves of the Araha, especially the population of Ugi, probably its original population, but possibly slaves brought in the crews of the Araha ships and settled on Ugi in colonies, living together. If so we must add to our description of the Araha that they employed large bodies of subject people as their slaves and engaged them in their works as manual labourers. It has just been said that in this they resemble the English, and in an earlier paper the Atawa were called " the English of those days " ; but, indeed, it would be strange if there were not similarities, and this is only to say that to picture the past we must know what is happening in the present time in San Cristoval.

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